

JOURNAL OF THE
GYPSY LORE SOCIETY
THIRD SERIES

JOURNAL OF THE
GYPSY LORE
SOCIETY

THIRD SERIES

VOLUME III

(1924)

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CORRIGENDA

Page 136, l. 6, for '*tust̃*' read '*tust̃̄*.'

Page 143, note 10, heading, for 'Roumanian' read 'Rumanian.'

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Stationery, etc.,	£1	8 4
Circulars and Notices,	0	16 0
Postages, Receipts, etc.,	6	8 8
„ Printing Journal, No. 5, Vol. II. (amount in excess of estimate),	1	8 6
„ Printing Journal No. 1, „ III.	49	19 0
„ do. „ 2, „ „	47	5 6
„ do. „ 3, „ „	55	1 0
„ do. „ 4, „ „	54	5 0
„ do. „ 5, „ „ (estimated),	19	10 0
„ Despatch of Journals to Members,	7	1 3
„ Amount due to “Old” G. L. S. for sale of Monographs and vols. of Journal (“New Series”) during 1924, .	10	2 6
	<u>£253</u>	<u>5 9</u>

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do. do., 1923,	17	14 10
do. do., 1924,	10	2 6
	<u>48</u>	<u>10 2</u>
	<u>£180</u>	<u>16 6</u>

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I hereby certify that I have examined the Books, Accounts and Vouchers of the above statements are true and correct and in accordance therewith.

64 GRESHAM STREET, LONDON, E.C.2
27th July 1925.

On 31st December 1924 there were subscriptions

LORE SOCIETY

ENDED 31ST DECEMBER 1924

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By	2 subscriptions for the year 1922,	.	.	.	£2	1	0
„	17 do. do. 1923,	.	.	.	17	1	0
„	127 do. do. 1924,	.	.	.	126	6	0
„	12 do. do. 1925,	.	.	.	12	0	0
„	Donations,	.	.	.	6	19	0
„	Volumes and Parts sold to Members,	.	.	.	4	3	0
„	Alexander Russell Bequest. Amount realised by sale of Books,	.	.	.	3	18	2
„	Amount received on behalf of "Old" G. L. S. for sale of Monographs and vols. of Journal ("New Series"),	.	.	.	10	2	6
	Balance, being Excess of Expenditure over Income,	.	.	.	70	15	1

£253 5 9

31ST DECEMBER 1924

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Cash at Bank,	£53	1	6
Deficiency—								
Excess of Expenditure over Income,								
1922,	£55	18	7	
Excess of Expenditure over Income,								
1923,	1	1	4	
Excess of Expenditure over Income,								
1924,	70	15	1	
								127 15 0
								<u>£180 16 6</u>

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"The Gypsy Lore Society" for the year ended 31st December 1924, and that

[Signed] H. A. MOURANT,
Chartered Accountant.
Hon. Auditor.

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JUN 18 1924

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

THIRD SERIES

VOLUME III PART 1

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I.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON.

No. 20. MORTSI T'Ā KOKALÉ.

With a Note by Prof. W. R. HALLIDAY.

Ĉorō tārnō mūrš dikēlas būtiāki, tā gyas talē k'ō bērenēyō tan. Kišlō kišlō¹ sas-lō. Ō bērenēyerō dikās les. Xoē ov ī tārnē mūršēski: "Av akāi, Mortsi tā Kokalē! Kišlō mūrš šan tū, kesa manī, na xosa būt būt kek."

Ō ĉorō Mortsidakerō gyas talē k'ō xobendaskō tan. Odōi sas-lō te yūžerēlas ō ĉuriā tā fōyī, kana ō bērenēyerō kārdās les oprē.

SKIN AND BONES

There was a poor young man looking for work, and he went down to the quay. He was as lean as a rake. A Captain caught sight of him. Quoth he to the young man: 'Come here, Skin and Bones! Thou art a scraggy fellow, thou wilt just suit me, thou wilt not eat too much.'

Poor Skinny went below to the galley. There he was cleaning the knives and forks when the Captain called him on deck.

¹ *kišlō kišlō* lit. 'lean lean,' i.e. 'extremely lean.' Such reduplicated forms in W. Rom., found also in most Ind. Eur. languages to express intensity, as well as in all Gypsy dialects, are often best rendered in English by familiar figurative phrases, e.g. *tačō tačō*, 'right as a trivet,' *kšlō kšlō*, 'black as ink,' *pōrnō pōrnō*, 'white as snow.' *Kišlō*, 'thin, spare, slender,' Paspatis's *kiahlō*, 'maigre, exténué,' Mik. vii. 84, is plainly a traditional participle = Skt. *kr̥ṣita* from $\sqrt{\text{kr̥ṣ}}$, 'to become thin.'

"Akē tū Kokalē, kēr 'kava bita kova maṇī. Kerāba tū kēr les." Ō čorō Mortsīākerō na sas-lō kek siklō te kel kola sig. Rušdās ō bērenējerō. Dīās les buṛnek. Talē peṛdās ō čorō Mortsīākerō top ō bēro. Odōi sas sēr leskē kokalē oprē sanadiā, yeḷ okōi tū yeḷ akāi.

Trašadō s'ō bērenējerō. Talē gyas. 'Viās oprē poš ōra popalē. Dikās ō čorō Mortsīākerō te pīr'las alān pestī top ō sanadiā.

Kalikō pučdās ō bērenējerō ī Mortsīakeréstē te kel bita būtt popalē. Būt būt šukār sas-lō 'pārl latī. Dīās les ō bērenējerō ī tōvelēsa¹ top ō šērō: paradās les arē dūiéndī.

Akē drūba kokalē top ō sanadiā! Kediās len ō bērenējerō, tū ušerdās len 'rē ō dōriav. "Na 'vela yov kek pōlē popalē," χōč ō bērenējerō pestī. 'Kana-sig šundās čomónī pala pestī. Dikās. "Akē Mortsīākerō tū Kokalējerō popalē!"

Ō dives palāl 'doi sas čomónī te 'vel kedō. K'ārdās ō bērenējerō ī Mortsīākerō: "Kēr akavā maṇī." Būt būt šukār sas ī Mortsīākerō 'pārl lestī. 'Yas ō bērenējerō ī sastārnéskō ruvlō² ar'ō vast, tū dīās les talē popalē.

'Here, Bag o' Bones! do this little job for me. Look sharp and get it done.' Poor Skinny was not used to doing things smartly. The Captain grew furious and struck him a heavy blow. Down fell poor Skinny on the deck. There were all his bones, scattered on the planks, one here, another there.

The Captain was aghast. He went below. He came on deck half an hour later. He saw poor Skinny pacing the deck in front of him.

Next day the Captain asked Skinny to do another little job. He was very, very slow about it. The Captain struck him on the head with an axe: he cleft him in twain. Behold a heap of bones upon the deck! The Captain collected them and cast them into the sea. 'He will not return again,' quoth the Captain to himself. Presently he heard something behind him. He looked. 'Why! here is Skin and Bones again!'

On the day after there was something else to be done. The Captain called Skinny: 'Do this for me.' Skinny was very, very slow about it. The Captain took a marline-spike in his hand, and struck him down once more.

¹ tōvelēsa] The form tōvel, beside more usual tōvēr, occurs also in the Gk. and Sirm. dialects.

² ruvlō] The masc. ruvlō, 'club, staff, truncheon, baton,' is identical with the fem. ruvli of other dialects.

Akē sōr ō kokalē okōi tā 'kai top ō sanadīd. Kedīās len ō bērenēgerō. Čidās poš ō kokalē arē gonéstī tā uērdās len arē dōriav, tā andīās ō vavēr poš talē arē peskī nagi komōra. Biš mī dūredēr uērdās len ar'ō dōriav. Poš ōra palāl 'doi sas ī Mortsī-akerō tā Kokalēgerō te pīr'las alān lestī!

Janas top ō dōriav, tā 'vilē kī bita teméstī. Sau mūrš gilē avrt te dikēn akāva bita tem, te len bita melibén.¹ Yek mūrš gyas akatār tā vavēr mūrš okotār.

"Mē tā tū 'časa kitanés," χορ'ō bērenēgerō ī Mortsīakeréskī. 'Vilē bita kokorē tanéstī. "Kerdva tukī 'kanš!" χορ'ō bērenēgerō. Dīās les kotōréndī. Kedīās ō kokalē, krafniērdās² len 'prē ō rukā, yek akāi tā yek okōi. "Kedóm tukī 'kanš," χορ'ē pestī.

K'ārdās ō mūrš kitanés. "Časa 'meņī 'kanš." Biš mī top ō dōriav gilē. Čalas ō bērō mištō, bavalýākō bērō sas. Akē Mortsī-akerō tā Kokalēgerō alān lestī popalē!

"Fededēr tukī te 'vesa bērenēgerō 'pārl³ mandī," χορ'ov. Ī

Behold all the bones scattered here and there on the deck. The Captain collected them. He put half the bones into a sack, and threw them into the sea, and carried the other half below into his cabin. Twenty miles further on he threw them overboard. Half an hour later there was Skin and Bones walking in front of him!

They sailed on and came to an island. The whole crew went ashore to see this island, and have a friendly spree, some in this direction, others in that.

'Thou and I will keep together,' quoth the Captain to Skinny. They came to a lonely little spot. 'I will do for thee now!' exclaimed the Captain. He knocked him into little bits, collected the bones, and nailed them to the trees, one here and one there. 'I have done for thee this time,' said he to himself.

He mustered the crew. 'Now let us be off.' On they went for twenty miles. The ship made good speed, it was a sailing ship. Lo! here is Skin and Bones in front of him again!

'Thou hadst better be the captain instead of me,' said he.

¹ *melibén*] See note to *melēnsa* (*J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, ii. 4). The W. Gyp. abstract noun *melibēn*, 'sociability,' 'camaraderie,' differs slightly in meaning from Pasp.'s *malipé*, 'oompagnie,' 'association.'

² *krafniērdās*] A regular denominative in -*er* from *krafni*, 'nail.'

³ *'pārl*] I translate *'pārl* [*opārl*] by 'instead of,' the word being often used in this sense for *preper*, e.g. *jō tū 'pārl ō pūrō, tārnō šan tū*, 'do thou go instead of the old man, thou art a youth.' But it may equally be taken in the sense of 'superior to,' 'above in authority,' e.g. *kralšos 'pārl sōr ō t'em*, 'king of all the land'; *tū 'vesa 'pārl lendī sōr*, 'thou shalt be lord of them all.'

Mortsiaðkerō 'vīds bērenēgerō. Bōrō lovéskerō gīds. Pala trin bērs gyas kērē kī p'skt purī dai. Odōi ki-lō 'kanš jidō tā mištō.

Skinny was made Captain. He became a wealthy man. After three years he went home to his old mother. There he is now alive and well.

[I fear that I cannot throw much light upon this curious little tale. I know of no exact parallel to it.

In other connections and in a different form the *motif* of the unwelcome boggart, whose company cannot be eluded, is common enough. To the type mentioned in *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, ii. p. 155, may be added stories like *Yallery Brown*, Jacobs, *More English Fairy Tales*, p. 26, where the victim, as here, was responsible for his troubles because he had invited or released the agent of his persecution :

‘For harm and mischance and Yallery Brown
Thou ’st let out thyself from under the stone.’

The captain's error was to call out to Skin and Bones and invite him on board his ship. To answer the questions of magical persons, and still more, thoughtlessly to summon them or to invite their company, is a highly dangerous proceeding. Some illustrations of the possible consequences of such behaviour will be found in my paper on ‘The Force of Initiative in Magical Conflict,’ *Folk-Lore*, xxi. pp. 153 foll.

The peculiar physical characteristics of Skinny remind us of such stories as that of the *Strange Visitor*, in which first a pair of soles come in and plant themselves by the old woman who wished for company, and then a pair of legs which plant themselves on the soles, then hips, and so on, until the strange visitor is completed, Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales*, pp. 179 foll. and notes on p. 251. The skeleton which drops down the chimney in instalments which adjust themselves upon their arrival, frequently appears in the haunted castle which is freed from enchantment by the boy who set out to learn how to shiver and shake, Grimm, No. 4. See references in Bolte und Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, i. p. 30, Note 1. To this type belongs the incident in *Ashypelt* (Groome, pp. 238-9), where it will be remembered that a blow from Ashypelt knocks the skeleton to pieces which he puts together again.

Skinny has also something in common with the more malevolent sea-shore bogies which Oriental mariners have encountered in strange islands, the Arabic Shikk (Split Man) or

the Persian Nimchahrah (Half-Face), and Tasmeh-pá (Strap Legs without Bones). To the last category belong Sinbad's 'Old Man of the Sea,' and the corresponding Marids which attacked the ship's company of Sayf ul-Muluk. The ogres encountered by Janshah appeared as normal human beings except for their whistling speech like that of birds, an infallible characteristic of Oriental devils; but anon they split themselves longitudinally into two halves, each of which ran with an incredible celerity to gratify its cannibal propensities. (See Burton-Smithers, *Arabian Nights*, iv. pp. 279, 390; vi. p. 124, with Burton's notes.) This kind of ogre appears in Greek folk-tale, von Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen*, No. 64, where the strong hero is killed by an old man who, when struck, merely divides into two antagonists. In one of the variants given by von Hahn, he begins by being a Half-Man.

In the Middle East, though not, I think, in Western Europe, Half-Men sometimes figure as romantic heroes (*e.g.* Lorimer, *Persian Tales*, pp. 108, 251). These, however, clearly belong to quite a different category from Skinny. What may be called their burlesque counterpart is the ingenious and successful rogue *Half-Cock*, whose adventures are celebrated in versions from Modern Greece, the Southern Slavonic countries, Berber North Africa, and France. (See Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 243.)

I must, however, end as I began, with a confession of failure. No real analogy to the story of *Skin and Bones* is known to me.

W. R. H.]

II.—ENGLISH GYPSY DEATH AND BURIAL CUSTOMS¹

By T. W. THOMPSON

AT Eastwood, in the county of Nottingham, towards the southern limit of Sherwood Forest, and not far from the Derbyshire border, there was buried on January 26, 1835, 'Louis Boswell, Traveller, age 42.' Shortly afterwards, on December 28, 1835, his only known son, 'Frampton Boswell, Traveller,

¹ I am very grateful to the incumbents of the parishes of Eastwood, Long Whetton, Etwall, Highworth, Llandegfan, Ticknall, Wilford, Wyrley, Chellaston, Ibstock, and Odstock for very kindly furnishing extracts from their burial registers; to the editor for all particulars relating to the Buckland family, and for copies or

age 20,' who died in Shropshire, was interred at the same place. A rather longer interval followed, and then on April 10, 1839—not the 20th as Groome has it¹—a third grave, dug like the others close to the south wall of the chancel of Eastwood old church, received the remains of 'Vashti Carlin, age 25,' Louis's only daughter, and the wife of an Eastwood or Greasley man, William Carlin, whom she had married some years earlier, and induced to travel. Following his wife's death, 'Tinker' Carlin took a cottage at Eastwood, and, marrying again, a gorgio this time, has left descendants there; but Louis's line is believed to be extinct. Probably his nearest kinsfolk now alive are the Derby Boswells, who say he was nephew to Lawrence Boswell, their ancestor, or to Lawrence's second wife, Peggy Boswell.

The circumstances attending his death and burial are described with some particularity in the *Nottingham Journal* of January 30, 1835: 'Died, last week, at the Royal encampment, Bestwood Lane, in the parish of Basford, near this town, after a lingering illness, Louis Boswell, King of the Gypsies, aged forty-two. A report being generally circulated that the remains were lying in state, and that the funeral would take place on Sunday, at Basford, many thousands of persons visited the encampment that day, so that the road was literally crowded for many hours. The funeral, however, did not take place, as a deputation from the Gypsies in Leicestershire was expected, which arrived that evening, when it was determined to inter the Royal remains in the usual burying-place, "No Man's Heath" in Northamptonshire. The coffin was made of good oak, ornamented with black furniture, and had a neat breast-plate, with a plain inscription of the name and age. We are informed that on Sunday night at eleven o'clock a procession was formed which set out with the Royal corpse for "No Man's Heath," attended by the Royal Princess and a considerable train, but that circumstances afterwards occurred that induced the procession to stay at Eastwood, where the funeral took place on Monday in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators. The deceased succeeded to the Regal dignity on the death of his father, which took place a few years ago in Lincolnshire, and he has left his only daughter,

abstracts of several printed accounts of Gypsy funerals; and to the correspondents mentioned by name in the text or in footnotes.

There is still a great deal of miscellaneous information to be gathered, and I hope members will take advantage of any opportunities they may have, and not fail to communicate the results of their inquiries to the *Journal*.

¹ *In Gipsy Tents* (Edinburgh, 1881), pp. 117-18.

[a fine-looking personage], a quartern measure filled with gold for her fortune.'¹

William Howitt, a native of the district, who was residing in Nottingham at the time, undoubtedly refers to the same event in a work published three years later.² The Gypsies, he says, 'are a great people still for kings and chiefs. Every district has its king. One of these died in the summer of 1835, in their camp in Bestwood Park, in Nottinghamshire; and thousands of people went to see him lie in state. They conveyed his body in a cart to Eastwood, a distance of nine miles, and would fain have stipulated with the clergyman for his interment in the church; not on account of any notion of the sanctity of the place, but for its security. This being refused, they chose a place in the churchyard, for which they paid a handsome sum, and ordered it to be fenced off with iron railings. An old beldame of the tribe said to me, that it was hard that he could not be buried in a church, as most of his ancestors had been before him.' The slight discrepancy in date, which will have been noticed, must be due to carelessness or defective memory, for there is no record of any Gypsy interment at Eastwood in 1835 besides those of Louis and Frampton Boswell, nor any reference in the local press during that year to the death of a second *Romano kralis* at or near Nottingham.

Writing to Groome in 1880 the Rev. H. W. Plumptre, then rector of Eastwood, states that the Boswell graves there were watched after the funerals 'for many nights,' and subsequently visited at intervals. 'Even now,' he adds, 'I hear they still come to look at them.' Grave-watching is also mentioned in an interesting note on Vashti and her husband sent me by Mr. William Darrington, the present headmaster of Eastwood school. The Gypsies, he says, kept guard over Vashti's grave 'every night for more than a year.' Then follows a curious particular: it was filled in, not with soil alone, but with a mixture of soil and chaff.

Aged members of the Gypsy colony at Derby declare that Vashti's body was watched continually between death and burial by

¹ I am indebted to Mr. R. M. Hewitt for this transcription, and for another (not utilised here) of the account of Louis Boswell's death and burial appearing in the *Nottingham Review* on the same day. The *Journal* report was reprinted, without precise acknowledgment of the source, in the *Nottingham Weekly Guardian* during the early autumn of 1909, and copied thence in the October, 1909, issue of the *Eastwood Parish Magazine*, where I first saw it, thanks to the kindness of the Rev. F. W. Cobb, a former rector. The few words enclosed in square brackets have only been noticed in reprints.

² *Rural Life of England* (London, 1838), vol. i. p. 242.

two of her kinswomen, and illuminated meanwhile with candles at the head and feet. Both she and her father, they say, were buried fully dressed, and shod in buckle shoes. Round her waist, as she lay in her coffin, was a broad belt ornamented with silver, and having concealed pockets in which money had been placed; such a belt as the women of her family formerly wore on grand occasions. Louis's pockets contained his watch, his pocket-knife, and some money; whilst his walking-stick, a silver tankard, and possibly his fiddle, were deposited in the coffin beside him. His remaining clothes, and the tent in which he died, were burned, and the incombustible contents of the tent buried in a hole, presumably before the funeral procession started for Eastwood, where his two pack donkeys, and a favourite saddle horse, were sold to gorgios. His grave, before its disturbance at the building of a new and larger church, had a wild rose-tree growing on it, which Aaron Boswell, Louis's cousin, found decorated with knots of red ribbon on two or three occasions.

Adopting these many and varied statements as a text, to be departed from at will, I shall now attempt a fresh review of English Gypsy death and burial customs. For the most part it will consist simply of a bare record of rites and usages, with examples of each. I have not the knowledge required for the proper discussion of origins and motives, and must leave this to specialists who have, hoping some one of them will come forward.

I

To those mourning Louis Boswell's death the horde of sight-seers that flocked to witness him 'lying in state' was, no doubt, an unwelcome embarrassment, though North Midland Boswells did not, it would seem, object to friends, whether Gypsies or gorgios, viewing their dead, nor strongly resent the intrusion of a few respectably behaved strangers. When Aaron Boswell, son of Lawrence, was awaiting burial at Long Whatton, Leicestershire, in 1866, a number of visitors were admitted to the tent containing his body; and so it was following the deaths of his half-brother, Sam, at Aldridge, near Walsall, in 1874,¹ and of Sam's father-in-law, Major Boswell, at Longton, in the Potteries, a year or two later. In each instance the coffin was left open until it was nearly time for the procession to start for the graveyard, as is often done

¹ Cf. Groome, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-8.

at gorgio funerals, so that mourners from a distance might see the body. A like procedure was adopted when Urania (Rēni) Buckland, widow of Edmund Smith, died at Reading in 1912. At Thomas Penfold's funeral, at St. Enoder in Cornwall later in the same year, the coffin was taken out of the van an hour before the time fixed for the interment, and laid on the grass with the lid off for friends to view the body.¹ And prior to the remains of Sentinia Smith being removed from the Black Patch, Birmingham, in 1907, relations by blood or marriage were permitted to see them, and did so in such numbers that there was a continual procession into and out of her waggon for about two hours.²

But when Lawrence Boswell's eldest son, Moses, died at Etwall, near Derby, in 1855, his widow, Trēnit Heron, excluded visitors from the 'death-tent,' and even refused to allow relations to view the body. The East Anglian Smiths and Browns, the latter being Herons under an assumed name, secreted their dead in the same manner, according to Katie Smith, a granddaughter of 'Jasper Petulengro,' and her cousin, Kadilia Brown; and similar behaviour has been noticed recently by O'Connor Boswell's family (who are descended from Major in the male line, and a succession of gorgios in the female) among relics of the Ambrose Smith-John Chilcott 'clan' settled at Green Lane, Birkenhead. The colony there consists of Lurēni and Lenda Young, daughters of Trēnit Heron's brother, Taiso, and of Shūri Chilcott, together with their children and grandchildren, who bear the names Boswell, Smith, and Robinson; and one of the Robinsons is married to a son of O'Connor's. Yet despite this connecting link the latter's wife, Angelina Finney, declares that she and her family have twice been denied a sight of their dead. 'And we're not the only ones,' she said, 'for ther's some as is more nearer to 'em nor what we are bin sarved the same, though they've gone a-purpose to take a last look.'

The body of a Gypsy woman dying at Littlebury in Essex about 1830 is said to have been laid 'on trestles by the encampment' whilst awaiting burial,³ a procedure I cannot parallel if the

¹ *West Briton*, Sept. 5, 1912. Where, as in this instance, all the information given about the death and burial of a particular person is taken from a single printed source I have not thought it necessary to repeat the reference each time.

² *Morning Leader*, Jan. 12, 1907. Touching a corpse so as to avoid dreaming of it is a Gypsy as well as a gorgio practice. Recently I was invited to touch one for the reason stated, and no doubt a dead Gypsy's relations often are.

³ *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vol. iii. (1869), p. 461 (reprinted by Groome, *op. cit.*, p. 123).

corpse was exposed in this fashion for any length of time, as is suggested. Another unfamiliar practice, that of erecting a large tent over the dead, is attributed by a *rašai* to a party of Boswells wintering at Birmingham in 1811-12.¹ He christened a child for them in the name of Sportcella, which makes it probable that Peter Boss (son of Edmund), who had a daughter Spōti, born some time between 1805 and 1820, was one of the party. If so, Lias and Sarah Boswell of Derby, whose mother, Jane (Eldorai) Boss, was Peter's niece, should be aware of the custom; but they are not. Moreover, they cannot see any advantage in its adoption, since in their view no additional accommodation for the living would result. Nor would it, of course, unless the 'death-tent' came into use again as a dwelling—a most unlikely thing to happen—or unless the deceased had expired in the open, which, accidents apart, is equally improbable, there being no reason to think that English Gypsies ever made a practice of removing the dying from their tents or waggons. Can it have been, then, that these Boswells re-erected the 'death-tent' on a new site, possibly at a distance, and perhaps enlarged it in the process? They may have done so, for in the New Forest Mr. Frank Cuttriss once saw a dead body laid out in a tent standing by itself away from the rest of the encampment.² Or did they put up a special tent for the body to rest in after it had been coffined, as some Gypsies travelling in Germany are said to have done following the death of their chief's wife in 1898?³

Living with a corpse was, as it still is, an abhorrent idea to most Gypsies, and in consequence the 'death-tent' was generally abandoned for dwelling purposes as soon as life became extinct. In some families, for example the Browns and East Anglian Smiths, and the Boswells descended from Lawrence, any food or provisions found there were at once taken away and buried, for they were held to have become contaminated. Even house-dwelling Gypsies have not always stayed under the same roof as the corpse. When one of the Stanleys died in a cottage by the side of Nunwell Park in the Isle of Wight, a little before 1900, the surviving members of his family shut up the house, and camped in the garden until after the funeral.⁴ Yet the East

¹ *Christian Guardian*, New Series, vol. iv. (1812), p. 99.

² *Romany Life* (London, 1915), p. 225.

³ *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, vol. i. (1898), p. 304 (translation of a paragraph in the *Petersburgskaya Gazeta* of Feb. 7, 1898).

⁴ *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, vol. xii. (1903), p. 496.

Anglian Pinfolds, old-fashioned people enough, are said by Adelaide Lee (Garratt), a granddaughter of Ambrose Smith, to live with their unburied dead; whilst O'Connor Boswell's family aver that the Birkenhead Gypsies, after placing the corpse at the back of the tent and covering it over, virtually shut themselves up with it pending its removal for interment. At both Gorleston and Green Lane, however, during the periods my informants had in mind, the conditions have been somewhat abnormal, owing to the exclusive use of the very large dome-shaped tents the Herons claim to have introduced about 1840, and to the absence of children in the bereaved families. Further, in the Birkenhead colony, and probably among the Pinfolds too, living with the corpse has differed little from a vigil, since no cooking was done in its presence, no proper meal eaten, and no attempt made to sleep.

Many, perhaps most, bereaved Gypsies have fasted whilst their dead were unburied. The Boswells who have Lawrence for their ancestor were prohibited by a definite taboo from eating 'red' meat; and besides this they abstained from preparing meals of any sort, and normally declined any cooked food offered to them. The East Anglian Smiths and Browns neither cooked, nor ate cooked food, contenting themselves as a rule with bread and water. The Herons and Grays, and the Birmingham Smiths descended from Woodfine and 'Maia, according to Mary, daughter of Amelia Heron and Elias Gray, and her husband, Alfred Smith, took no refreshment except dry bread and water, or tea without sugar and milk. Bui Boswell and his many daughters neither ate nor smoked, and drank only water, whilst his wife, Savaina Lovell, was awaiting burial at Liverpool about twenty-five years ago. Louis Lovell's blood relations fasted between his death at Over Darton, and his interment at Bradford, near Manchester, some time in the seventies.¹ And Oxfordshire Bucklands, London-side Lees and Lovells, and Smiths frequenting Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, are all known to have abstained more or less rigidly. Nor is the practice in any danger of becoming extinct.

The Boswell 'red' meat taboo remained in force until the camping place had been deserted, but in general the period of fasting has ended with the return of the mourners from the grave-side, when on rare occasions a special meal has been served, as at Thomas Penfold's funeral, where 'tables placed on the moor

¹ Crofton, *Manchester Literary Club Papers*, vol. iii. (1877), p. 35.

were laden with provisions and wine,' probably in imitation of a not uncommon gorgio practice. Children, it would seem, have never been expected to share in the fast, for it is quite often stated that some one outside the inner circle of mourners attended to their needs. This may account for Leland's assertion that friends prepared food for the deceased's family during the three days following his death,¹ though possibly his information came from Gypsies among whom adult abstention was lax or non-existent.

The watching of Vashti Boswell's body by two kinswomen can be paralleled readily enough. In 1909, on the death of Mary Buckland, *née* Fenner, in the neighbourhood of Oxford, her two surviving sisters sat by the corpse without intermission or sleep until it was removed for burial; and a similar feat of endurance is attributed to a sister and daughter of Ōni Lee's wife, who died in London, perhaps twenty or twenty-five years ago; whilst it is probable that the two women who were seen guarding the body laid out 'on trestles' at Littlebury remained at their posts until it was taken away to inter. Sometimes the watchers have been changed. 'The coffin,' says Mr. Cuttriss, referring to a New Forest vigil, 'was placed in a tent at a short distance from the rest of the camp, [and] by its side stood a tiny clock . . . , the little chamber being lit by a lantern suspended from one of the tent rods. Two were keeping watch until midnight, when they would arouse two others to take their places until dawn.'² Bui Boswell's daughters sat by their mother's corpse in pairs and threes; and Abraham Buckland's body, following his death at Cowley, near Oxford, in 1923, was watched by various relatives in turn.

Formal vigils of the type described, undertaken most frequently by elderly women, I think, seem to be commonest now in southern families. They also occur, it may be noted, among northern potters with a far back Gypsy strain in them, for when George Miller died at Staveley, near Kendal, in 1909, his kinsfolk kept watch over the body two at a time until the 'lifting,' in conformity with a custom that prevails among the Millers, Lowthers, and Howards, if Isaac and Alexander Miller, and Richard Lowther, may be believed. Feasting and drinking in the presence of the dead, once a characteristic feature of North

¹ Leland, *The English Gipsies and their Language* (London, 1873), pp. 127-8.

² *Romany Life*, p. 225.

Country, Scottish, and Scottish Gypsy lyke-wakes, was not admitted by my informants,¹ and certainly there was none when George Miller died, though the bereaved did not fast. On the other hand, its occurrence was reported shortly afterwards on the death of one of the Kendal Youngs, a settled potter family, not unconnected, I suspect, with their namesakes over the Border.

'We watch [corpses] with a candle, and never go to bed till they are buried,' said one of the Boswells staying at Birmingham in 1811-12; and very often Gypsy vigils have consisted, wholly or partly, in the adult mourners sitting together during the interval between death and interment, generally round a fire, with some always awake and watchful, and none deliberately attempting to sleep. It was so among the East Anglian Smiths, Browns, and Grays; whilst the practice has been mentioned to me at one time or another by Saiki Heron, Taimi Boswell, and Delenda Williams, all members of the Taiso Boswell-'No Name' Heron 'clan,' as well as Lavinia Boswell, daughter of Bui, Sarah Boswell of Derby, Sophia Lovell, a descendant of Major, and Alfred Smith, a grandson of Woodfine and of 'Maia. Its prevalence in South Wales is vouched for in a letter written by Mr. Alfred James from Llanelly in 1912. 'It was pitch dark,' he says, 'and I could not see where I was going, but a voice from the fire greeted me. . . . There was Nux Herne, his brother Jack, Eithel—that's Mōti's son, and Jack's son Leonard, all sitting round. Jack's wife Glory lay dead in her coffin in the van, awaiting burial next day at Pembrey old church. The Welsh people had just gone: they had been singing at the van. Gypsies about here do not go to bed until after the funeral. They sit in company round the fire, and now and then fall back dozing, but at least three must keep awake. If there were only two, one of them might drop off to sleep, and that would leave one by himself. Afraid of the ghost, they said; that is why they sit in company and lie round the fire.'

Burning lights in the presence of corpses seems to have been, and to be, almost universal among English Gypsies. Sometimes it has taken the form observed on the death of Vashti Boswell, there being two or more sources of illumination placed over, around, or at the extremities of the deceased. Candles were lighted over the body of one of the Coopers who died in Epping

¹ For Scottish Gypsy lyke-wakes see *Account of the Gipsies* (vol. xvi. of Chambers' *Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts*), Edinburgh (1847), pp. 14 and 26; and Simson's *A History of the Gipsies* (London, 1865), pp. 123 and 144.

Forest in 1827;¹ and oil lamps suspended from hazel sticks burned at the head and feet of the corpse awaiting burial at Littlebury a year or two later. Five tapers continuously alight stood on the coffin lid of an aged Constance Smith interred at Highworth, near Swindon, in 1830;² an unspecified number illuminated the body of Celia, or Cecilia, Chilcott when she was 'lying in state' at Coggeshall, Essex, in 1842.³ Candles at the head and feet were burned without intermission over the bodies of Ōni Lee's wife, and of George Miller, and all round the outer margin of the tent or cart tilt that had been placed over the death-bed of Patience Smith, an alleged centenarian, who expired in a house in the Holbeck district of Leeds in 1912.⁴ Burning lights in this manner is, of course, a widely spread Christian observance. As such no distinction is drawn between daylight and darkness, but when Abraham Buckland was lying dead in his van candles were burned only at night, as they were when Supplista, son of Elijah Boswell and Alice Smith, died at Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, in 1913.

Incidental reference has already been made to the burning of a single light in the death chamber, a custom prevalent until recently among country folk in the north of England, and far from uncommon among Gypsies, who do not as a rule limit the illumination to the hours of darkness. It is said to have been followed on the deaths of Lovinia Smith, daughter of Ambrose, at Yarmouth in the nineties, 'Baina Lovell at Lancaster about ten years ago, and Caroline Gray at Grimsby in 1916; and has been given me as customary in their families by Sarah Boswell of Derby, Lavinia Boswell, daughter of Bui, Noah and Dora of the northern Herons, Jesse Shaw, and Drui Lee from South Wales. According to Sarah Boswell, her father's people continued to burn a light in the 'death-tent' up to the time of its destruction, which was usually delayed until the morning after the funeral,

¹ Hone's *Table Book* for June 1827.

² Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, June 12, 1830 (reprinted in Hone's *Year Book*, London, 1832, coll. 915-16, and from there abstracted by Groome, *op. cit.*, p. 121). Cf. Tegg, *The Last Act: being the funeral rites of nations and individuals* (London, 1876), pp. 315-18. Constance Smith, described as 'a wandering gypsy' aged 80 years, was buried at Highworth on June 3, 1830; which fact, and the date of the issue of Jackson's *Oxford Journal* containing an account of her funeral, show that Groome was mistaken in saying she died on August 5.

³ *Times*, Oct. 18, 1842.

⁴ *Yorkshire Post*, Feb. 7, 1912; *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, Feb. 8, 1912; *Daily Dispatch*, Feb. 8, 1912. These three accounts are of independent origin.

when the camping place was abandoned. They were so *a-traš*, she explained, presumably of the *mulo* returning. Among settled Serbian Gypsies a burning candle is left, with a jug of water, on the spot where the person died, even after his corpse has been buried; but I do not know what purpose it is intended to serve.¹

II

Very probably Louis and Vashti Boswell were laid out by gorgios, which was, and still is, the usual procedure in the Lawrence and Major Boswell families; and in others besides, if reliance can be placed on a general impression, substantiated to some extent by the declared absence of Gypsy assistance at the laying out of Isaac Heron at Sutton-on-Trent in 1911,² Savaina Lovell, Caroline Gray, Rabbi Lock at Llandegfan, Anglesey, in 1908, and Kōdi Jones, widow of Vernon Taylor, on Sound Heath, near Wrenbury in Cheshire, in 1921. The one instance known to me of a Gypsy participating in the work comes from Mr. Myers, whose information supports rather than contradicts the view taken that gorgios are usually called in to do it. 'Emily Lee told me the other day,' he writes from Newport, Monmouthshire, in 1912, 'that she was the only Gypsy who helped to lay out poor Ethelenda Heron. The others haven't got the heart for it, she said.' Occasionally the undertaker or his assistant, or the woman sent for to prepare the body for burial, receives specific instructions on some particular point. Iza Heron, for example, told the man who laid out his father, Isaac, to place the arms straight down by the sides, instead of crossed on the breast, which seems to be the usual position with Gypsies as with gorgios; and according to Noah Lock his kinsfolk insist on the head being raised as high as possible.

Sometimes aversion on the survivors' part from handling the corpse is accompanied by strong objection to any one else doing so, and then the customary preparations are very much curtailed. Two youngish men who have died at Green Lane, Birkenhead, in recent years were fully, even carefully, dressed at the time, though both had been ill for a considerable period; and the only attention either received subsequently was to have his eyes and mouth closed, and his face sponged over very lightly and rapidly, by his mother. On each occasion the body was then laid on

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 363.

² *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 37-53.

a strip of carpet at the back of the tent, and covered with a white sheet. The undertakers were not allowed to make any measurements, and when they brought the coffin their instructions were to lift the corpse into it by taking hold of the carpet only. A similar procedure is said to have been followed in the case of earlier deaths at Birkenhead, notably that of Ambrose Smith's sister, Elizabeth, in 1883.

Her brother-in-law, Bui Brown, when dying at Fakenham in Norfolk a few years previously, had his best clothes got out, and struggled into them. 'He didn't want no nasty gorgios seeing or touching his naked body,' said his kinswoman, Adelaide Lee; whilst Joshua Gray accounted in much the same words for identical behaviour on the part of his brother, Johnny, a member of the 'No Name' Heron-Taiso Boswell 'clan,' who died at Crosby, near Liverpool, in the early nineties. Rather different, and probably more remote from the truth, was the explanation proffered to a north country doctor who was called in to see a Gypsy chief thought to be dying, and found him, though really ill, dressed in 'all his robes of state.' The sick man was Ambrose Smith, I believe; in which case it may well have been his 'upstart, consequential' nephew, Lazy, who replied to the astonished *drabengro's* demand for enlightenment: 'If our king is going to meet the King of Heaven, is it not right that he should meet Him as a king?'¹ It was a telling retort, anyhow, like Taimi Boswell's when his wife objected to his wearing a pair of trousers with a gaping rent in the least desirable place: 'I'm not a-going to die just yet, my woman, else I'd get me into summat better.'

Dressing up as a preparation for death cannot have been very uncommon among the older Gypsies with an East Anglian connection. Precisely what inspired the practice is not too clear to me, but it obviously implies, among other things, confidence on the part of the dying man that he would be buried without change of clothes, and equally, of course, that he wished to be interred well and fully dressed. Scores of Gypsies have been accorded this honour—I feel sure it is, or was, considered to be an added dignity, as well as a greater comfort, and better preparation for the journey—and not only in England, but in Germany

¹ Brockie, *The Gypsies of Yetholm* (Kelso, 1884), p. 98. If Ambrose Smith was not the 'dying' Gypsy chief mentioned to Brockie, then a similar story is told of him during his trek to Scotland.

too, and Eastern Europe generally. In England, as among the German *Sinte*, best clothes are preferred, but so far as I know they have always been worn before, which seems to distinguish the Western usage from the Eastern.¹

Both Louis and Vashti Boswell were buried in shoes, a practice the Derby Boswells regard as common in the days of their parents and grandparents; as do Elvaira Smith and Kēzi Booth, who tell you with pride that their kinsman, Absolom Smith, was carried to his grave at Twyford in Leicestershire in 1826² in shoes adorned with silver buckles each weighing 'a half a pound.' But outside the Midlands I can recollect only two instances of foot-gear on corpses—satin shoes on Celia Chilcott, and red morocco slippers on Jack Lee of Brighton, who died in 1899; whilst some Gypsies, including Joshua Gray, Noah Heron, Lavinia Boswell, and Adelaide Lee, the last-named a relative of Celia Chilcott, have declared it to be contrary to Gypsy custom.

As for covering the head, published accounts of English Gypsy funerals only tell us that Eliza Heron, wife of Ōseri Gray, was buried at Barling in Norfolk about 1887 in a scarlet bonnet.³ No further example of dressing a corpse in a bonnet or hat has come to my notice, but Ambrose Smith's daughter, Lovinia, and Lawrence Boswell's daughter, Deloraifi, the latter of whom died at Ticknall, near Derby, in 1885, were both interred with kerchiefs on their heads, arranged in the usual manner; and so, oddly enough, was Tom Brown, another Norfolk Gypsy; whilst Eliza Boss, the maternal grandmother of Lias and Sarah Boswell of Derby, had the hood of her cloak turned up.

Some Scottish Gypsies of a century or so ago seem to have covered the head, and little besides. A paper cap was used, according to Simson,⁴ and paper put round the feet of the corpse leaving all the body bare, except the breast, opposite the heart, where a circle of red and blue ribbons was placed, 'in form something like the variegated cockade worn in the hats of newly-enlisted recruits in the army.' This side of the Border full dress has not been universal: the Littlebury corpse was 'swathed in cloths,' and the Epping Forest Cooper 'dressed in linen'; whilst

¹ For an example of the dead body of an Eastern European Gypsy being dressed in new clothes *vide* *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 297.

² The date is taken from a note on Absolom Smith in the *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries*, vol. i. (1891), pp. 93-5.

³ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 46.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

Polius Heron, Mary Gray, Lavinia, Sarah, and O'Connor Boswell, to mention no others, have all declared interment in undergarments only, accompanied by the use of a shroud or winding sheet, to be of considerable antiquity: but to bury a corpse virtually naked is as unheard of among English Gypsies as putting a paper cap on the head and paper round the feet, or a circle of ribbons on the breast.

Instead of a circle of ribbons, some English Gypsies use a round sod. The woman sent for to lay out Pirus Gray, following his death at Louth, Lincolnshire, in 1886, found that a green turf, circular in shape, had already been placed on his chest.¹ A similar object was noticed lying on the breast of 'One-Armed' Christopher Smith, when his body was awaiting burial at Wigton, Cumberland, in 1912. Mr. J. W. Halton, the district coroner, says it was about four inches in diameter,² and Vensa Smith, daughter of Shandres, described it as resting in a saucer when she saw the corpse. With her at the time was her brother-in-law, James Allison, whose maternal grandfather was closely akin to the deceased, and according to him the custom is a common one in this particular Smith family, its avowed object being to prevent the body from swelling. He instanced its observance on the death of Bartholomew Smith, a cousin of Christopher's; and recalled how, pending the burial of his own great-grandmother in the female line, one Isabella Smith, aunt to Shandres, and widow of Major Lovell's son, George, at Whiteinch in Scotland in 1890,³ some of his mother's people wished to place a sod on her breast, but were forbidden to do so by her son, William. Thomas Young, a Kendal potter, professed familiarity with the practice when it was mentioned in his hearing; and so did Coralina Gray, wife of Julia Macfarlane of Ulverston, who counts herself a potter, not a Gypsy, and certainly speaks the tinkler cant. It would appear, too, that it was once prevalent among the peasantry of Westmorland and Cumberland, but is so no longer.⁴

Granted this is true, borrowing by Gypsies must be set down as probable, for, though the immediate ancestors of Christopher and Bartholomew Smith, as of Pirus Gray, travelled chiefly in

¹ Communicated by the Rev. George Hall in 1912.

² *Folk-lore*, vol. xxxi. (1920), p. 154. Mr. Halton does not mention any date, place, or name, but there is little if any doubt as to the identity of the man on whose body he saw the round sod.

³ Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., ii. 252.

⁴ *Westmorland Gazette*, Nov. 23, 1912.

Cambridgeshire and thereabouts, I cannot help suspecting that they, like the Grays, sprang from the northern Gypsy stock, a good part of which, by fusion with native vagrants, gave rise to the tinklers, and to the analogous potter caste found on the English side of the Border. For the Grays a case has already been stated,¹ and I do not feel disposed to add more here than that Coralina's parents, who were Yorkshire potters by her account, moved in a circuit that included both Aberdeen and Cambridge, and encountered Cambridgeshire Grays as far north as Durham. The Smiths are on a different footing, since neither early Scottish Gypsies, nor tinklers, of this name are known. But there are some Smiths who speak the tinkler cant in South Westmorland and Furness; whilst 'One-Armed' Chris and his kin have always appeared to me unusually potter-like, in speech and manner as well as physical characteristics. They differ considerably from other Smiths who have migrated northwards during the same period, mostly from Northamptonshire and the counties adjoining it; and their present connection, which is chiefly with Yorkshire and Scotland, may quite well date back to the middle of the seventeenth century, when Smiths under the leadership of a Gray, who was said to be conducting them to their 'severall dwellings and contryes,' were apprehended at York on their way from Hessle, near Hull, into Northumberland.²

In the North Midlands sods give place to tufts of grass, the laying of which on corpses, Miss Burne once told me, is an old Staffordshire usage. It was observed, as is generally known, on the death of Major Boswell,³ who married a Staffordshire woman, and travelled her native county for at least eighty years. His son, Tom, father of O'Connor, also had grass placed on his breast when he died at Longton about thirty years ago; and so had his son-in-law, Sam Boswell, on his death at Aldridge, near Walsall. Sam was a son of Lawrence, whose family seem to have adopted the rite, for according to Caroline her grandfather, Aaron Boswell, was laid out with 'sweet grasses' on his chest. But here, perhaps, there was blending with a superficially similar practice, since Aaron's sister, Deloraifi, had a bunch of flowers, and no grass, 'laid at her heart.'

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, i. 120.

² *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vii. 34.

³ Morwood, *Our Gipsies in City, Tent and Van* (London, 1885), p. 171 (quotation from the *Staffordshire Advertiser*).

Grass, like turf, was supposed to prevent swelling, or so says O'Connor Boswell; but as the same reason is often given for putting a saucer of salt on the deceased's breast, a generally accepted survival of saining, it looks as if the motives that once prompted the adoption of these three rites had been forgotten, or become confused. Depositing flowers on or about corpses is not, I think, very common among Gypsies, and it is worth noticing, therefore, that 'forest flowers and blossoms of the season were strewn and hung in posies' on the Cooper who died in Epping Forest in 1827; that Rosanna Lee, wife of Walter Lovell, was buried at West Elizabeth, Newark, N. J., about forty years ago, with a 'calla lily' in her right hand, which rested on her breast;¹ and that for some time after the interment of Matilda, wife of Levi Stanley, at Dayton, Ohio, in 1878, relatives visited the vault daily, and scattered choice blooms on the corpse, which had been embalmed so as to preserve 'the natural aspect of life.'²

III

Generally speaking, English Gypsies have used coffins for a century at least, and probably for much longer. Indeed, it is questionable whether they lagged far behind the rest of the population in adopting them, for whilst the Herons are credited with, and sometimes admit, a preference for winding sheets only, down to the early years of the nineteenth century, they seem to be exceptional among Gypsy families in this respect. Isolated instances of uncoffined burial at a late date prove very little, since people alive in 1860, and perhaps nearer our own day, had witnessed gorgio funerals where no coffin was used.³ The one or two Gypsy examples that have come to my notice will be mentioned subsequently in connection with interment in unconsecrated ground.

With the 'good oak' of which Louis Boswell's coffin was made we may compare the 'best Norway oak' employed when Lawrence Boswell died at Wilne, near Derby, in 1833;⁴ not that it is unusual, Gypsies, in my experience, showing a marked liking for

¹ A newspaper cutting without name or date in Leland's collection preserved in the British Museum (shelfmark, 1855, b. 18). Cf. another cutting in the same collection from the *St. Louis Daily Globe*, May 26, 1889. Rosanna had then been dead 'a few years.'

² Morwood, *op. cit.*, p. 181 (quotation from the *Christian World*, Oct. 4, 1878). *Vide* p. 37 *post*.

³ J. C. Cox, *The Parish Registers of England* (London, 1910), pp. 120-1.

⁴ *Derby Mercury*, June 17, 1833.

very solid, durable coffins. The plain furnishings and neat inscription may also be regarded as typical, I think, for rarely has attention been drawn to florid decorations, or to extravagant fancies like the 'crown, sceptre, and other insignia of gipsy royalty' said to have been emblazoned on the coffin lid of a *Romano kralis* buried in Hertfordshire, at a place Morwood chooses to write as 'K——'.¹ But more characteristic than anything else about Gypsy coffins is the abnormally large size of many of them, due, chiefly if not entirely, to the intended enclosure of various articles.

Clothes are the commonest. Ethelenda Heron's coffin contained her entire wardrobe,² Sentinia Smith's the better part of hers,³ Isaac Heron's a suit and an overcoat, Savaina Lovell's one or two dresses, a silk shawl, and other 'bits o' finery.' Many more examples could be cited of Gypsies, who, like those just mentioned, were interred only in under-garments and a shroud, being provided with some or all of their remaining clothes. The burial of extra garments with fully dressed corpses has probably been less usual; though not, it would seem, among Smiths having a present or former connection with the Midlands, since Israel Smith, a grandson of Elijah Boswell and one of his Northamptonshire Smith wives, Alfred Smith, a representative of the Birmingham family, and Elvaira Smith, who belongs to the Leicestershire brood, have all spoken of it in general terms as being customary once. Specific examples would not be difficult to obtain, but at the moment I can do no more than quote the enclosure of an overcoat in Supplista Smith's coffin, and of an additional suit and a muffler (as well as four pocket-handkerchiefs) in that of his paternal and maternal cousin, Zachariah Smith, who died at Dudley Hill, Bradford, in 1912.⁴ Alfred and Elvaira agreed that the chief consideration was to dispose of the clothes, but normally English Gypsies have furnished the dead with selected garments only, and I feel sure the original intention was to provide for the deceased's future needs or comfort.

Among the East Anglian Smiths, who buried their dead fully dressed as a rule, loose enclosures of any kind in coffins were regarded with disfavour; and according to Adelaide Lee there

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

² Communicated by Mr. John Myers in 1912.

³ Communicated by Mr. H. J. Francis in 1923.

⁴ Hall, *The Gypsy's Parson* (London, 1915), p. 243. The place and date of Zach's death are from my own notebooks.

were none with any of her mother's people, except Elizabeth, Ambrose's sister. Even in her case it was not finery, as might have been expected, but 'two Brussels carpets,' a large one from the floor of her tent, besides the strip on which she was laid out. She wished it to be so, and her son, Lazy, though disapproving strongly, respected her whim.

The clothes deposited in Isaac Heron's coffin were all turned inside out, as were those buried with his niece, Amelia Heron, wife of Elias Gray, at Wilford, Nottingham, a few months earlier, and with Amelia's niece, Ethelenda Heron, on her death in South Wales about a year later. No other instances of the practice have come to light, but Mr. Hall discovered that Pirus Gray, a son-in-law of 'No Name' Heron who was interred in full walking dress, had his coat turned inside out, a usage with which Wikki Gray, Pirus's niece, and Matilda Winter, whose mother, Mercia Smith, lived with Ned Elliot at the same time as Whipney Heron did, were both familiar. And in Oxfordshire Mr. Winstedt learned from an Agnes Smith, or Curtis, that in her experience the underclothes put on a corpse were always turned inside out, as at the burial in 1909 of a brother of her Loveridge husband.

This curious rite apparently does not depend on the turning of garments inside out when they are laid aside, since Mary Gray (daughter of Elias Gray and Amelia Heron), Wikki Gray, and Matilda Winter have all denied that Gypsies do so as a regular habit. Besides, it is at least as probable as not that of the two variant forms the turning wrong side out of clothes worn by the dead is the older. If so, an origin may, perhaps, be found in South-Eastern Europe, where, according to Mr. Hall, the reversal of garments is 'a practice in Bulgarian mourning.'¹ But as no similar rite has been recorded for Continental Gypsies, so far as I know, it would be just as well to look nearer home. Doing so, we find that one of the Lincolnshire Winters, when lost and benighted, turned his coat inside out with happy results,² as did Taiso Young on a festive occasion when he was incapable of locating the camp; whilst the same device, extended to all the clothes he had on, enabled the Irishman of one of Mrs. O'Connor Boswell's stories to find his way home again after he had been carried off by fairies into strange country. Now ghosts are notoriously stupid, and Gypsies inordinately afraid of them, so might

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

² Communicated by Mr. Hall in 1913.

they not turn grave-clothes inside out in the hope of assisting the dead person's spirit to find its way into the next world with as little delay as possible?

Though Gypsies commonly inter clothes with a corpse, the depositing of 'deceased's boots' in Thomas Penfold's coffin, and in Supplista Smith's, must be regarded as somewhat unusual. Much more so, if it is true, is the burial of a new pair of shoes with Job Cooper, Matty's cousin,¹ for the provision of anything wearable but unworn is otherwise unattested among English *Romane*; and so strong is the objection to it in some families that when Aaron Boswell's son, Theophilus, died in a house at Derby in 1872, and his coffin, a very large one, was almost filled up with clothes it would have been difficult to burn, a suit that had just come for him from the tailor was purposely left out, to be cut up subsequently and sent to a rag-shop. It is hardly relevant that a new pair of boots, made without nails, was buried with Sophie Kirpatš, one of the Eastern European Gypsy Coppersmiths, at Mitcham in 1911.²

Watches were interred with Moses and Aaron Boswell, in addition to Louis; with Absolom and Zachariah Smith; with Edmund Heron at Wilford in 1894; with Jack Lee at Brighton, and Horace Lee at Little Ilford in 1902; with Sinaminti Buckland at Stokenchurch, Buckinghamshire, about 1850;³ and with Celia Chilcott. Gypsy women, whether alive or dead, are not often furnished with watches, but nearly all of them wears rings, necklaces, and ear-pendants, and these must have been left on the corpse in many cases. Sinaminti Buckland wore gold ear-rings in her coffin, and Leland heard from Matty Cooper of Stanleys interred with rings on their fingers,⁴ whilst the Derby Boswells regard stripping a dead woman of her jewellery as both wicked and dangerous. In their family, any trinkets the deceased was not wearing when she died were generally placed in her coffin, as at the burials of Lucretia, Lawrence's eldest daughter, at Wyrley, Staffordshire, in 1861, and of Aaron's wife, Matilda, at Swymbridge, Devonshire, in 1852.⁵ Among other Gypsies it is probably more usual to batter them up, and either drop them into water, or bury them in a hole. At Alice Barney's funeral, somewhere in Hamp-

¹ Leland, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-9.

² *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 297.

³ A ms. note based on information tendered by a carpenter (MS. Top. Oxon. d. 191^a p. 120, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 58-9.

⁵ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 319.

shire in 1911, her jewellery was interred underneath the coffin,¹ a practice intermediate between those commonly favoured.

The Derby Boswells, and other Gypsies, no doubt, feel that a dead man might miss his watch, and a dead woman her jewellery, and be uneasy in consequence. A similar feeling, I should say, rather than the thought of their being useful in a future life, prompts the enclosure in coffins of miscellaneous articles like the pocket-knife, walking-stick, and tankard (many old Gypsies carried drinking-mugs in their tail-pockets) put in Louis Boswell's; the fiddle and pocket-knife in Piramus Gray's; the whip in Johnny Gray's, and in Abraham Buckland's; the empty tobacco-box in Moses Boswell's; and, to give no more examples, the fiddle and pipe in Oli Heron's at Withernsea, near Hull, in 1894.² They were 'things what the dead person was more fonder on than others, and might find the want of,' as Lavinia Boswell expressed it; or 'things he was hardly ever without,' to quote Lias Boswell. The German Gypsies, according to a manuscript of Wittich's, often deposit in the coffin such articles as the deceased's rings, stick, pocket-knife, tobacco-box, and pipe, in addition to his clothes and weapons; but musical instruments, it appears, are neither buried with the corpse, nor destroyed.

'When an uncle of mine died,' says Rodney Smith, the evangelist, 'my aunt bought a coffin large enough for all his possessions—including his fiddle, cup and saucer, plate, knife, etc.,—except, of course, his waggon. My wife and my sister pleaded hard for the cup and saucer as a keepsake, but she was resolute. Nobody should ever use them again.'³ Most Gypsies destroy a dead person's crockery and table cutlery, but Constance Smith had a knife, fork, and plate buried with her, Oli Heron a knife and fork, and Mordecai Boswell, who died at Retford, Nottinghamshire, about forty years ago, a cup, plate, knife, fork, and spoon, all of which were wrapped up in a 'crumb-cloth.' 'He'd likely have need of 'em,' said Mordecai's daughter, Ambrozina.

Zachariah Smith, like his cousin, Supplista, was provided with a candle in the grave, and one of the Kentish Lees with a candle and a box of matches. Zachari was also furnished with a hammer,

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 46.

² Particulars of Oli Heron's funeral were obtained by Mr. Hall from his widow, Wasti, in 1912. He is the John Young mentioned in *Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, vol. vi. (1894), p. 286 (in a quotation from the *Manchester City News*, Sept. 22, 1894), and in the *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., i. 358.

³ *Gipsy Smith, his Life and Work*, by Himself (London, 1901), p. 7.

as was Thomas Penfold later in the same year, 1912. This was shortly after the press had given wide publicity to the rites observed at Sophie Kirpatš's funeral, including the placing of a small mallet in her coffin, but independence of action may be presumed, since Elvaira Smith tells me that a hammer was interred with her 'uncle,' Daiverus Smith, at Wittering, near Stamford, about 1870, and probably with Samuel Smith at Ibstock, Leicestershire, in 1864; and that on the death of her cousin, Kenza Smith, the Kenza who with Moses 'lived in a tent, a-stopping on Gresley common' in South Derbyshire (to quote from an instructive song of Gypsy composition), the survivors discussed, but decided against, putting his hammer in the coffin.

Forty-five years ago 'Cuthbert Bede' wrote to *Notes and Queries* about the burial of a Roman Catholic lady of title not very long dead. Tenantry and others saw her in her coffin, and according to 'two or three cottagers' a hammer rested in her right hand, and a gold coin in her left: 'with the hammer she was to knock at the gate of heaven, and with the coin to pay St. Peter for admittance.' He discredited these statements, suggesting that a crucifix and a reliquary had been mistaken for the secular objects named. A correspondent signing himself 'C. B.' also thought the 'hammer' must have been a crucifix, and supposed that the 'coin' might have been a medal, perhaps granted by some religious order. He denied it was a Roman Catholic practice to furnish the dead with a hammer and a coin, but added: 'I have heard of such equipments for a corpse spoken of among the Monmouthshire peasantry.' R. H. Hampton Roberts, continuing the discussion, said he had been told by some aged Welsh people of the burial with Roman Catholics of a candle to light the way, a loaf of bread for refreshment on the journey, a hammer to knock at the door of heaven, and a coin to pay St. Peter. Finally, J. W. Savill reported that a similar story, with the addition sometimes of a bill-hook or hatchet to clear obstructions from the road, and a tinder-box, flint, and steel to strike a light, was current in Essex, and scornfully declared it to be an absurd Protestant tradition resulting from ignorance of Roman Catholic usages.¹ If so, it is rather strange that

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, vol. xii. (1879), pp. 148, 236, 478; and 6th Series, vol. i. (1880), p. 132. The *Daily Chronicle*, Jan. 28, 1924, noticed the discovery during some excavations at Plymouth of 'a curious grave hewn in solid rock. . . . In it was a tiny lead coffin, and contained within it was a wooden shell. When opened the shell was found to hold the remains of a bird, presumed to be a linnet, and an Irish penny. . . . Irish pennies and halfpennies were coined up till 1822.'

an Irish Roman Catholic of Mr. Hall's acquaintance should have claimed that he had witnessed the putting of a hammer, a candle, and one or two pennies in the coffin at gorgio funerals, and for the purposes mentioned, even supposing he did not imply priestly sanction or tolerance of the practice.

Among English Gypsies the enclosure of hammers and candles in coffins was accompanied by the provision of one or two coins of small value. Twopence was buried with Zachariah Smith, a penny each with Supplista Smith, Noah Holland (Elvaira Smith's father), and Thomas Penfold, and 'a copper or two' with Kenza Smith. In other Gypsy families larger sums were supplied, or no money at all, so far as I have been able to discover. Leland, on the ultimate authority of a Deighton, says that 'three thousand pounds were hidden away with one of the Chilcotts';¹ Celia, I suspect, in which case a contemporary report reduces the amount to a 'purse of money.' Even so it must have been worth a good deal more than twopence. Louis and Vashti Boswell probably had several shillings, or perhaps a pound or two, buried with them, for the Derby Boswells speak of such sums being interred with various members of their family, Aaron, Matilda, and Deloraifi, for example. They included any coins the deceased had about him when he died, or had handled just before, but uncontaminated money was put in coffins too, as at Matilda's death, and at Deloraifi's, and when Aaron's son, Uriah, was buried at Ticknall in 1883. 'Our people al'ays liked to have a bit o' *luva* by 'em,' said Lias, implying, I think, that when dead they might be unhappy, and therefore restless, if they had none. Simple consideration for the spirit's material needs may, however, be the original motive for burying sums that are neither large nor very small with the corpse. The old Prussians provided the dead with spending money to buy refreshment on the journey;² and in England, at the funeral of James Hedges, one of a half-blood family that travels chiefly in Essex and the adjoining counties, a friend of his dropped half a crown into the open grave, remarking as he did so: 'Here, Jimmy; here's something for a drink on the way.'

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 58-9.

² E. B. Taylor, *Primitive Culture* (4th ed., London, 1903), vol. i. p. 494. To this day, he says, German peasants bury a corpse with money in his mouth or hand, a fourpenny piece or so; and he quotes a reference to a similar practice in France. 'Christian funeral offerings of this kind,' he adds, 'are mostly trifling in value, and doubtful as to the meaning with which they were kept up.' They are unconnected with 'Charon's Penny,' which may, however, be the ancestor of 'Peter's Pence.'

There is no recorded instance known to me of liquor or tobacco being interred with an English Gypsy, and only one of food. This occurs in a recent paper on 'Man and his Past in Hampshire,'¹ where it is stated that when a Gypsy 'king' died at Blackwater in 1912 his friends placed his best set of harness, some grain, and some bread in the coffin. Assuming they did, which is perhaps doubtful,² a ready explanation is at hand: he would need harness and corn for his horse in the next world, or on the way there (was one slaughtered, I wonder); and he would require bread for his own refreshment. But as doubtless he was proud of his best harness, it may very well have been deposited in his coffin for fear he should be disturbed by thoughts of any one else possessing it. And as for bread and grain, many Gypsies believe they afford protection against evil mischance, ghostly apparitions, and the devil himself. The Norfolk Grays at one time sewed bread inside their horses' collars to safeguard the animals against 'witching'; Sandi Lovell used to clutch a loaf of bread to his naked breast whenever he was assailed by wandering spirits; and Tom Lee crumbled a whole loaf round his tent when his son, Bendigo, was born; whilst tales are not infrequently told by Gypsies of men—and women—who habitually carried wheat or other grain in their pockets as a measure of safety, or ran into cornfields when followed by the *beng* or a *mulo*. So possibly grain and bread were put in the coffin because of the virtue attributed to them as something especially pertaining to God. 'The dear God's bread' and 'the dear God's grain' are common expressions among old-fashioned *Romane*.

IV

Gypsy expressions of grief are sometimes less restrained than is usual with gorgios. In Germany, according to Wittich,³ the bereaved howl loudly when a man dies, all except the widow, who is silent; and Caroline Boswell speaks of relatives crowding round the dying, and wailing bitterly for a time. On news of Repronia (Lepronia) Lee's death reaching those of her kinsfolk who had

¹ Issued by the Hampshire Field Club, 1922, p. 13.

² The interment is said to have taken place in Blackwater churchyard, but no church exists at either of the Blackwaters in Hampshire, or at Blackwater, I.O.W. Nor can I hear of a Gypsy 'king' dying at any of these places in or about 1912. There are Blackwaters in other parts of the country, though apparently none of them possesses a church. The author's information, then, cannot be accepted without reservation.

³ In a ms. article.

gone to Kirton church 'the moaning and lamentations . . . are described as dreadful in the extreme';¹ whilst Charlotte Young says that relatives of an aged Gerania [? Lee] buried at Otterbourne in Hampshire 'lamented her with loud cries like Easterns.'² Keening, mentioned by Crofton in connection with Louis Lovell's demise, seems to be unusual, however.

When James Smith was interred at Launton, Oxfordshire, in 1830, his widow 'tore her hair, uttered the most frantic exclamations, and begged to be allowed to throw herself on the coffin, that she might be buried with her husband';³ and a woman named Mary Griggs, described as a Gypsy, who had two children burned to death at Holsworthy in Devonshire in 1912, was only restrained 'by the combined efforts of friends and bystanders' from following them into the grave.⁴ After the burial of 'Queen Gannie Jeffers' in the Stanley vault at Dayton, Ohio, in 1884, her sons and daughters climbed 'down to the coffin to take their last farewell. Their sobs and cries filled the air, and were echoed by the mourners that stood on the brink of the grave. [They] . . . threw themselves prostrate on the coffins, kissing the hard wood, and it was only with great difficulty that they could be prevailed on to come out of the grave.'⁵ But more typical of Gypsy funeral scenes, I should judge, was the behaviour of those who followed Isaac Heron to his final resting-place in Manston churchyard, near Leeds. 'After the body had been lowered into the earth,' says Mr. Bartlett, 'the mourners came to the foot, and there crouched down, bending themselves nearly double and leaning forward right over the grave, staring down at the coffin as if they would pierce the wood with their gaze. Thus they remained for some little time, rocking themselves backwards and forwards in grief, and then quietly rose and walked away.'

A nonagenarian Lovell, who 'although in possession of nearly one thousand guineas hoarded in an old flowerpot . . . yet followed the avocation of a perambulating tinker,' was accompanied to his

¹ Groome, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-7 (quoting from the *Times*, March 2, 1862, which reprinted from the *Bury and Norwich Post*). Morwood, *op. cit.*, p. 167, reproduced part of the same notice.

² *An Old Woman's Outlook* (London, 1892), p. 282.

³ Crabb, *The Gipsies' Advocate* (3rd ed., London, 1832), p. 32.

⁴ *Western Times*, Dec. 31, 1912.

⁵ Brockie, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-6 (quotation from an unnamed New York paper of April 1884). Morwood, *op. cit.*, p. 179, reprints an account of the same funeral from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, June 9, 1884, in which the 'queen's' name is given as 'Gannie Gefferie.'

grave in St. James's churchyard, Clerkenwell, in the winter of 1842-3, by 'no less than seventeen couple (according to his wish), and to whom several small legacies were left.'¹ Possibly the old man had few relations; otherwise he hardly need have provided for an adequate following, since Gypsies usually allow neither distance nor family quarrels to keep them away from funerals they might be expected to attend. Difficulties of communication are often overcome in a remarkable manner, and large assemblies are common. Sometimes, as at Eastwood in 1835 and 1839, a considerable crowd of gorgios is attracted as well.

The ordering of the funeral procession has no special features as a rule; nor does it appear to have had in the past. But one or two oddities may be noted—the substitution of chimney sweepers' boys for plumes on the hearse that bore Diana (Dinah) Boswell to her grave at Newington Butts in 1773;² the alleged use as draught animals of a pair of donkeys with their inside ears cut off at the burial of a Gypsy of unknown name at Winterton, Lincolnshire, perhaps about the middle of the nineteenth century;³ the mounting of a postillion in black on one of the front pair of six Belgian horses employed to convey the remains of William West from Oswaldtwistle in East Lancashire, where he died in 1913, to a family vault at Astley Bridge, near Bolton;⁴ and the wearing of horse shoes 'for luck,' by the mourners who, after refusing to ride in the coaches provided, walked behind the body of Charles Organ to the cemetery at Newport, Monmouthshire, in 1912.⁵ Examples of night burials, whether enforced in the case of smallpox victims, or arranged for voluntarily in imitation of a once fashionable practice, need not be given: they are of no importance, and little interest.

But attention may usefully be drawn to the occasional observance of certain English folk-usages. At the funeral of Paradise 'Buckler' [? Buckley=Buckland], a child of thirteen, at Belbroughton, Worcestershire, in 1815, the coffin was supported by,

¹ *Derby Mercury*, Jan. 11, 1843.

² *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ix. 135 (quotation from Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 30, 1773).

³ Communicated in 1914 by Mr. Hall, whose son heard of the occurrence from a native of Winterton.

⁴ *Accrington Observer*, March 22, 1913. The *Daily Mail* (Manchester ed.), March 19, 1913, says there was a postillion in black on each of the leaders, but the local paper is probably more reliable in its information. West's Yard at Oswaldtwistle was, and still is, much used by Gypsies as a winter *acing tan*. It is situated behind the Castle Inn on the road to Church.

⁵ *Daily News*, March 12, 1912.

and covered with, white pocket handkerchiefs, and each processional mourner carried one, clean and folded, in such a manner as to suggest the removal of falling tears.¹ When Sinaminti Buckland was buried, a white sheet held by eight girls dressed in white was used instead of a pall, the deceased being accounted 'young and single,' though she was the mother of at least three children. Sisters and girl cousins of Repronia Lee, an unmarried daughter of Charles Lee and Union Chilcott, who was interred at Kirton or Kesgrave, near Ipswich, in 1862, wore white frocks, and long white veils on their heads, whilst the male mourners had black hatbands with white ribbons, white neckties, and white gloves. In *No. 747*, the Gypsy parts of which are mostly descriptions of actual occurrences, Way speaks of a hearse with white ostrich plumes, bearers wearing white silk hatbands, and two maiden sisters-in-law dressed in white muslin and long white veils, at the funeral of a married Gypsy man of middle age or rather less.² And when Louis Lovell was buried, in the presence of about forty Gypsies, his only child wore white.

The rest of the mourners on this occasion were dressed in black, which is now quite common at Gypsy funerals, though by no means general. At Patience Smith's, for example, 'a few of the elder women had black hats, but the younger ones wore their brightly-coloured shawls and handkerchiefs.'³ Red, it would seem, was more favoured at one time, by women at any rate. In the Lawrence Boswell family, whilst black or dark clothes, supplemented by mourning scarves, and crape hatbands with long streamers, were customary for men, the women until recently invariably wore red cloaks, as did all the little girls who attended Aaron Boswell's funeral in 1866, some of them, including Caroline, being provided with new ones for the event. Sinaminti Buckland, too, was followed to her grave by Gypsies in red cloaks (smoking pipes⁴); and several members of the 'No Name' Heron-Taiso Boswell 'clan,' including Genti Gray, Saiki Heron, Delenda

¹ Groome, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-20 (quotation from *Truth*, Aug. 28, 1879); W. B. Woodgate, *Reminiscences of an Old Sportsman* (London, 1909), pp. 19-20, where it is stated that 'Paradise Buckler, aged 14,' is on the gravestone.

² Bristol, [1890], p. 27.

³ *Leeds Mercury*, Feb. 10, 1912.

⁴ When William Nowland, or Newlands, 'King of the Orkney Gypsies,' was buried at Stromness in 1884, the women present at the funeral, including his widow, smoked pipes. *Vide* Morwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-9 (quotation from the *Daily Chronicle*, March 14, 1884); and *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 80 (extract from the *Stromness News*, March 7, 1884). Cf. Brookie, *op. cit.*, p. 144 (reprinted paragraph from the *Scotsman*, March 10, 1884).

Williams, and Jetta Lovell, have declared that red was formerly the correct mourning colour for women.

Jetta, whose uncle, Louis Lovell, was buried in a suit of red flannel, believed that men used to wear something red too; and certainly when her father, Merrifield, died, about the same time as Louis, his widow, Leah Boswell, furnished the chief male mourners with red rosettes. At another Lancashire funeral in the seventies, or early eighties, that of Muldobriar Heron at Birch-in-Hopwood, some of the men present had red ribbons in their buttonholes, or pinned to the lapels of their coats. And when Matilda, wife of Levi Stanley, who migrated to America about 1860, was interred at Dayton, Ohio, in 1878, 'red was the predominant hue of the funereal trappings; each mourner wore a scrap of crimson, and the hearse was decked with red plumes.'¹

Passing by, as doubtful evidence for mourning colours, the burial of Eliza Heron in a red cloak and bonnet, and Jack Lee in red morocco slippers, the Scottish Gypsy rite of laying a circle of red and blue ribbons on the dead, and the painting of some Gypsy tombstones at Yatton red, white and blue, we may notice that red ribbons were fastened to the rose-tree growing on Louis Boswell's grave. Their use in this connection is otherwise unattested in England, but Professor Andree mentions that Gypsy visitors to the tomb of two of their race at Volkmarode in Brunswick tied red ribbons and pieces of rag to it;² and Wittich that graves are adorned each year with red wool, plaited into ropes, and hung 'crosswise from the grave cross.'³ Some Gypsies travelling in Germany—the party referred to previously—are said to have plaited red and yellow ribbons in their hair and their horses' manes as a sign of mourning (and to have buried their chief's wife in a dark red coffin);⁴ *Lalere Sinte* perhaps, or a mixed stock due to their fusion with native *Romane*, since people of this description whom I saw in England recently spoke of erecting small wooden crosses decorated with red and yellow ribbons to mark the burial-places of their dead. The wearing of yellow as mourning has not been observed among English Gypsies, so far as I know, but Mr. James saw at the foot of Ethelenda Heron's grave a thin upright stick, sixteen inches or so in height, covered with yellow silk

¹ Groome, *op. cit.*, p. 125 (quotation from an unspecified newspaper).

² *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 366-8.

³ In a MS. article.

⁴ *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, vol. i. (1898), p. 304 (from the *Petersburgskaya Gazeta*, Feb. 7, 1898).

ribbon, of which there was a bow about half-way up. Near it stood a small wooden cross, evidently home made.

The rest of the mound was covered with wreaths, one of laurel leaves, and five or six of ivy, some with paper roses interspersed. The absence of fresh flowers is hardly surprising, for, though floral tributes to the dead are not rare among English Gypsies, many of the more old-fashioned shun them, as do the German *Sinte* known to Wittich.¹ Nothing so quickly perishing as flowers should be laid on graves, Lavinia Boswell once declared, and I have met with the same objection to their use among northern Herons and Grays, and the Derby Boswells. Not unconnected with it, in all probability, is the practice with which the Birkenhead colony is credited of planting flowers or flowering shrubs on burial mounds, and divining the state of the departed from observing whether they take root and flourish, or wither away.

German Gypsies in Liebich's day used to plant on the grave a specimen of the tree 'honoured' by the deceased's 'clan' (and bury a twig of it with him).² One of these 'clan emblems' was the wild rose; and it may be more than a coincidence that this same tree flourished on Louis Boswell's grave, for Mr. Hall discovered that a white rosebush had been planted on that of Shūrensi Smith, a wife of Riley Boswell who was interred in the Spring Bank Cemetery, Hull, in 1868,³ whilst Lias Boswell speaks of a sweetbriar tree in the churchyard at Chellaston, near Derby, as marking the spot where Peggy Boswell, Lawrence's second wife, was buried in 1843. There is, too, John Chilcott's request when he was dying at Dedham, near Colchester, some time about 1860, that briars should be planted over him.⁴ Major Lovell, on the other hand, wished to lie under a thorn-tree; from affection for sheltering thorn hedges, no doubt, or maybe the fierce heat of burning thorn clumps, though it is perhaps worth remarking that hawthorn is another of the three German Gypsy 'clan emblems' mentioned by Liebich. Covering a grave with thorns to prevent any one walking over it and so disturbing the dead, a practice, now obsolete, attributed to certain Transylvanian Gypsies by Wlilocki,⁵ is obviously distinct in origin and motive.

The erection of some kind of memorial to mark the burial-

¹ Information from a MS. article.

² *Die Zigeuner* (Leipzig, 1863), p. 56.

³ *The Gypsy's Parson*, p. 170.

⁴ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 302.

⁵ *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke* (Hamburg, 1890), p. 296.

places of their kinsfolk is common enough among English Gypsies. At Calne in Wiltshire, where Inverto Boswell was buried in 1774, an altar tomb with a rearing horse sculptured in relief on it once stood over his grave.¹ At Helmingham, Suffolk, there is a headstone, set up in 1810 to the memory of Rhona, wife of Clarke Boswell, and her infant son, Elijah, on the upper half of which may be seen wife and child, husband and grinding barrow. In Kesgrave churchyard, near Ipswich, a large, flat tomb, having a panel that depicts two Gypsy men 'showing' a horse, commemorates the interment of 'Young' John Chilcott in 1851.² On the stone erected at Llanvair Waterdine, near Knighton, following the burial there of Herbert Lock in 1882, there is an inscription in Romani;³ whilst a masonic mark is cut on the memorial to Ambrose Smith's sister, Elizabeth, and her

¹ Morwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-7 (information from a former rector of Calne); *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 333-4 (from *Wanderings of a Pen and Pencil*, by Alfred Crowquill [Alfred Henry Forrester], London, 1846, pp. 279-81); *Ibid.*, vi. 77 (from *A History of the Borough and Town of Calne*, by A. E. W. Marsh, Calne, 1904?, p. 163).

² I owe my knowledge of the Gypsy graves at Kesgrave and Helmingham to a number of correspondents who kindly replied to a letter of inquiry I addressed to the *East Anglian Daily Times* on Feb. 17, 1920. An associated newspaper, the *Suffolk Chronicle and Mercury*, published a photograph of the Kesgrave tomb on Feb. 27, 1920, and one of the stone at Helmingham on March 5, 1920. Details of the inscriptions were appended, and appeared again in the *East Anglian Daily Times* on March 16, 1920.

Over the grave of Jabez Buckland, who died at Highworth, near Swindon, in 1923, a stone has been erected on which is carved a figure of a man holding a rearing horse; and the memorial to Herbert Tann, Leonora Gray's husband, in Gorleston cemetery, Lowestoft, has a dog sculptured on it. With the grinding barrow shown on the Helmingham tombstone of the ram's horns and spoons depicted on William Marshall's in Kirkcudbright churchyard (M'Cormick, *The Tinkler-Gypsies*, 2nd ed., Dumfries, 1907, p. 519). Horning was one of Billy's more legitimate occupations.

³ The Romani inscription on Herbert Lock's gravestone is now very difficult to decipher. It probably reads:—

MI DEERI DUVEL DIK OPRE MANDI
 ROV MI JINOMESCO ROMANI FOLKI
 ROV MI RYE TOOG DADU PAL TA PEN
 MANDI KEKOMI KELS MI DYE DRE COVA JIVOBEN
 MI DUVELESKO DOOD YEK MULLO RATI
 MI TUMERUS LELS TI CHAVO JALS AVRE
 KA WAVER TAN ADROM JALS KEK PAULI
 O KOMLI RACKLO CUSHTO BOK MI TARNO ROMANI

The Rev. G. H. Cope, vicar of Llanvair Waterdine, who kindly made this transcription for me, says that at the foot of the stone the following words are engraved: 'This Headstone erected by the Author of Tent Life with English Gypsies in Norway.'

Can any reader tell me about the grave of a Hughie (? Uriah) Boswell at or near Bath? A Romani version of the Lord's Prayer is said to appear on the tombstone.

grandsons, Frederick and Charles Henry Smith, in Birkenhead cemetery.¹ And so one could go on, coming at length to the mausoleum recently finished in the Nottingham Road cemetery, Derby, at a cost of at least £1200, in which lie the remains of Uneti Lovell, wife of George Amer, who died in 1916. But when all is said, simple though not inexpensive monuments are far more characteristic.

V

The travelling man who dropped half a crown into the grave of his friend, James Hedges, vowed he would spill some beer there whenever he came that way, and by doing so provided a late example of what was once a Gypsy custom in this country. The earliest known reference to it is in connection with the burial at Rossington in Yorkshire on January 30, 1708/9, of Charles Boswell, 'a mad spark, mighty fine and brisk, keeping company with a great many gentlemen, knights, and esquires, yet running about the country.' Writing nearly a century later, Edward Miller, the historian of Doncaster, says that 'for a number of years it was the custom of Gypsies, from the south, to meet at his tomb annually, and there perform some of their accustomed rites, one of which was to pour a flaggon of ale on the grave'; hot ale, according to a letter written by Dr. James Stoven, rector of the parish, some time about 1820.² In 1821 another Boswell, Dan by name, a kinsman of Lawrence or of his wife, Peggy, was buried at Selston, which is close to Eastwood; and here, too, says the Rev. E. R. Kemp, a former curate, relatives assembled once in most years, and poured ale on the grave, the visits, but not the

¹ Communicated by Mr. R. A. Scott Macfie in 1909, and previously printed in the *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 172.

² Groome, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-11 (quotation from Edward Miller's *History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, Doncaster, 1804, p. 237); *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 71-2 (extracts from Miller, and from John Wainwright's *An Historical and Topographical Introduction to a Knowledge of the Ancient State of the Wapentake of Strafford and Tickhill* . . ., Sheffield, 1829).

The description of Charles Boswell that I have utilised is taken from Groome, who extracted it from Joseph Hunter's *History of South Yorkshire* (1828), or a reprint of his information appearing in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vol. iii. (1869), p. 557. Hunter in turn quoted from the Diary of Abraham de la Pryme, rector of Thorne, and a Fellow of the Royal Society, which has since been printed in the *Publications of the Surtees Society*, vol. 54 (Durham, 1870), where the passage in question (pp. 182-3) reads: 'There is a famous k[ing] of the gipsys, that's call'd Mr. Bosvill, a mad spark, that, haveing an estate of about two hundred per annum, yet runs about. He is mighty fine and brisk, and keeps comp[any] with a great many gentlemen, knights and esquires]. Any doubt as to Mr. Boswell's or Bosvill's Christian name—Hunter calls him Charles, Miller and Wainwright James—is set

libations, continuing until 1870, and perhaps later.¹ Ten years after Dan's burial, on the eve of Horncastle August Fair, 'No Name' Heron and Taiso Boswell were 'slayen By thunder and lightning and a fire Ball' (as Wester Boswell has it) at Tetford on the Lincolnshire Wolds;² and every Horncastle Fair time for some years subsequently members of the 'clan' visited their tomb, such visits being clearly recollected by Harriet Williams, who in 1831 was already married to Jack Gray, a son-in-law of both 'No Name' and Taiso, and yet survived until 1906. From her Mr. Hall learned that on each occasion the men of the party walked bare-headed to the grave, with mugs of beer in their hands, and after spilling some drank the rest in silence, each 'meking a bit o' prayer to hisself.' The women then visited the churchyard in twos and threes.

Probably these libations are survivals of funeral feasts held at the grave once a year, on the anniversary of the death, or at some particular season. German Gypsies, says Liebich,³ poured the deceased's favourite drink on his grave at the funeral, and a year later held a feast there. Wittich, in a ms. article, speaks of yearly visits celebrated with feasting, of spilling liquor on the grave when passing at other times, and of wishing the dead a 'Happy New Year' if the season is appropriate. And Professor Andree, referring to the Gypsy graves at Volkmarode, mentions yearly visits by small parties, and larger assemblies every four years, feasts being held on each occasion.

It is said that annual offerings of tobacco were laid on the grave of 'Susanna wife of Lalor Lovell,' who was buried at

at rest by the editor of the diary, who quotes from the Rossington parish registers: 'Charles Bosvill was buried on Sunday, January 30th, 1708-9 without affidavit,' and from the baptismal registers of Tickhill, a neighbouring village: '1693, July the 25th, Susanna, daughter of Charles Boswell, gent., a stranger.' *The Register of the Parish Church of Garforth* (Yorks. Par. Reg. Soc., vol. xlv.) records the baptism on April 24, 1698, of '[?] Hesod] the son of Charles Boswell, gent. and a travell'.

¹ The date of Dan Boswell's death is taken from the *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol. xix. (1897) p. 115, where it is stated that he was buried on March 21, 1821, aged 73. The remaining information was communicated in 1913 by Mr. Hall, who was a son-in-law of the Rev. E. R. Kemp. Cf. *The Gypsy's Parson*, pp. 150-1; Groome, *op. cit.*, p. 118; *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 71.

² *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 245. In a previous paper I gave a copy of the inscription on the headstone commemorating the deaths of 'No Name' Heron and Taiso Boswell 'in 1830' (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 170). Mr. Hall, who supplied the copy, subsequently saw the Tetford burial registers, and found that the interments were duly entered after all, and were among those for the year 1831; so Wester's accuracy is vindicated.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 55-6.

Clifford Chambers, near Stratford-on-Avon, in 1812;¹ and Lily Boswell, a daughter of O'Connor, told me recently of a Gypsy woman she knew who every year deposited a Christmas pudding on her little girl's grave, and of another who always took sugar with her when visiting the burial-place of one of her children. Hardly comparable with these acts, yet not totally dissimilar, is Bui Boswell's placing of the child's broken teapot on his son Horace's grave at Aughton, near Ormskirk, 'lest he should be thirsty.'² The motive here is clear, anyhow; but it would be difficult to say why Noah and Delaia Lock erected a small wire tent over their son Herbert's grave at Llanvair Waterdine. Perhaps their intention was to shelter him; more probably it was to make him feel at home.

'Most families,' according to Crabb,³ 'visit the graves of their near relations once in the year; generally about the time of Christmas. Then the depository of the dead becomes a rallying spot for the living; there they renew their attachments and sympathies, and give and receive assurances of continued good will. At such periods, however, they are often addicted to intemperance'; which one may regard, perhaps, as an extension of ceremonial drinking at the grave. In keeping with Crabb's statements about Gypsies who travelled in Hampshire are the annual visits paid by Josiah Scamp's relations, following his death in 1801, to his tomb at Odstock in Wiltshire, there to celebrate some 'religious rites'; and the action taken by the church authorities in prohibiting further assemblies because of the nuisance created by drunken brawlers. Their interference provoked a threefold curse from one of Josiah's daughters: 'May the parson never be understood when he preaches—may the churchwarden be a bankrupt—may the clerk die before the year is out.' It is held to have come true in every particular; but, as the Rev. J. H. Swinstead remarks, 'the historian does not say whether the clergyman's sermons had ever been understood, nor if the churchwarden should have declared bankruptcy months before, nor even if the clerk was so aged and decrepit that no power on earth could possibly keep him alive.'⁴

¹ Communicated by Mr. F. C. Wellstood to the editor.

² *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 45.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 28-9.

⁴ *A Parish on Wheels* (2nd ed., London, 1897), pp. 36-7. Swinstead gives Scamp's Christian name as Joshua (and I have seen it quoted somewhere as Joseph), but the parish register has Josiah. According to tradition he was hanged for horse-stealing, instead of a guilty son-in-law, or possibly son.

More decorous, presumably, since no complaints seem to have been made, were the anniversary gatherings at Inverto Boswell's tomb at Calne, to celebrate 'some sort of rites, supposed to be religious . . . [but] believed to have been of a heathenish character';¹ and the yearly assemblies at Sandford in Devonshire, the burial-place of Mistress Paul Stanley in 1797, at which flowers were scattered on the grave;² whilst nothing worse is remembered against Gypsies paying regular visits to Yatton churchyard, where lie the remains of 'Merrily Joules [*née* Cooper] a beauty bright that left Isaac Joules her heart's delight' in 1827, of Isaac himself, and several of their descendants, than that an old woman once took it into her head to paint the gravestones red, white and blue,³ an act as incomprehensible to the villagers as the tarring of Herbert Lock's headstone must have been to the people of Llanvair Waterdine. Equally surprising, no doubt, to gorgio witnesses was the yearly renewal over a considerable period of the life-sized figure of a man originally cut in the turf of a lane called Gallow-low, in the parish of Brassington, Derbyshire, during the summer of 1848, to mark the spot where Aaron Boswell, a youth of eighteen, suddenly fell back dead whilst engaged in the old-fashioned sport of jumping with weighted hands.⁴

At Eastwood the Gypsy visitors are said to have behaved with the greatest reverence. To Little Budworth in Cheshire, where Henry Lovett was buried in 1744, his relatives returned to pray.⁵ In Birkenhead cemetery, and the churchyards of Wilford and Manston, Gypsy women kneeling by the sepulchres of their dead have been seen from time to time. And one of the Grays, whose full name I prefer to withhold, when visiting his wife's burial-place during the first Christmas season following his bereavement, lay on her grave silently grieving for three hours or more, oblivious of the cold rain pouring down, and barely aware of the presence

¹ Morwood, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

² George Smith, *Gipsy Life* (London, 1880), p. 66 (reprint of a letter written by the rector of Sandford, probably to the *Standard* on or about Aug. 20, 1879). Cf. Groome, *op. cit.*, p. 119. The American Stanleys, as mentioned previously (p. 20 *ante*), strewn flowers on the body of Matilda, wife of Levi Stanley, after her burial at Dayton, Ohio, in 1878. 'The beautiful classic rite of scattering flowers over the dead still holds its place in Europe,' says Tylor (*op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 495). He appends several references.

³ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., i. 397-8; Way, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-1; Morwood, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

⁴ Communicated by the Rev. W. Wedge, vicar of Brassington, in 1921.

⁵ Groome, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-12.

at his side of an aged sister, who had made the long long journey with him 'to keep him from harm.' Neither of the mourners ate anything all that day; nor did they on the first anniversary of the death, when a similar pilgrimage was undertaken.

(To be concluded.)

III.—*TRASĀ*, 'TO FRIGHTEN'

By Prof. R. L. TURNER

THE common Gypsy noun *traš*, 'fear,' and the verb *traš-*, 'to frighten, to fear,' with its derivative *trašino*, 'frightful,' are referred by Miklosich¹ to the Sanskrit *trāsati*, 'to tremble,' Pali *tasati*, id. But apparently no attempt has been made to explain the presence of *š* instead of *s*. All the Gypsy dialects have *š*, except the Spanish with *trach-*, where *ch*, however, represents earlier *š*.

European Gypsy, in common with the North-West Himalayan group of Indo-Aryan languages, distinguishes Skt. *s* from Skt. *ś* and *ṣ*, representing the former as *s*, and the latter two as *š*. E.g.:

- s*: *sap*, 'snake' (*sarpāḥ*, id.); *siv-*, 'to sew' (*stvyati*, id.); *salo*, 'wife's brother' (*syālāḥ*, *syālakaḥ*, id.); *vast*, 'hand' (*hāstaḥ*, id.); *as-*, 'to laugh' (*hasati*, id.); *khas*, 'straw' (*ghāsaḥ*, 'fodder'), etc.
- ś*: *šo*, 'six' (*ṣaṭ*, id.); *truš*, 'thirst' (*trṣā*, id.); *manuš*, 'man' (*mānuṣaḥ*, *mānuṣāḥ*, id.); *berš*, 'year' (*varṣam*, id.); *kašt*, 'wood' (*kāṣṭhām*, id.).
- ṣ*: *šasto*, 'healthy' (*śastāḥ*, 'fortunate, happy'); *šel*, 'one hundred' (*śatām*, id.); *šil*, 'cold' (*śītāḥ*, id.); *šing*, 'horn' (*śṛṅgam*, id.); *šuzo*, 'clean' (cp. *śudhyati*, 'to become pure'); *baš-*, 'to cry, to shout' (*vāśyatē*, *vāśati* (of an animal) 'to cry'); *beš-*, 'to sit' (*ūpaviśati*, id.), etc.

Occasionally *s* appears for Skt. *ś*: *šigo*, 'quick' (*śighrāḥ*, id.); *sik-*, 'to teach' (*śikṣayati*, id.); *sovel*, 'oath' (*śapāthaḥ*, id.). Some-

¹ *Über die Mundarten*, viii. p. 85; from these vocabularies I quote all Gypsy words given below, except that for German Gypsy I have consulted von Sowa, *Wörterbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner*, for Armenian Gypsy Finok, *Die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner*, and for Finnish Gypsy Thesleff, *Wörterbuch des Dialekts der finnländischen Zigeuner*.

times where some European dialects have the expected *š*, others have *s*: e.g. Greek Gy. *šastir* and *sastir*, 'iron,' Italian Gy. *šaskiresk*, 'smith,' but German Gy. *saster*, 'iron' (*šástram*, weapon); Greek Gy. *šošoy* and *sosoy*, 'hare' (*šáśáḥ*, id.); Spanish Gy. *chingale*, 'he-goat,' but *singe*, 'horn' (*šṛṅgam*), etc. Here we apparently have to do with dialectical developments within the European group. It is, however, to be remarked that in the Asiatic group Armenian Gypsy has always *s* for all three sibilants:

s: *gas*, 'hay' (*ghāsáḥ*); *savy*, 'all' (*sárvah*, id.); *suil*, 'to sleep' (cp. Pa. *supati*, Skt. *svápati*, id.), etc.

ś: *manus*, 'man' (*mānuṣah*); *sis*, 'head' (*śirśam*, id.).

ś: *sis* (*śirśam*); *las*, 'ten' (*dáśa*, id.); *lēs*, 'world' (*dēśáḥ*, 'region'); *vēsel*, 'to sit' (*úpaviśati*, id.); *pēsel*, 'to enter' (*práviśati*, id.); *nasuhel*, 'to be lost' (*náśyati*, 'to be destroyed').

On the other hand, *s* from Skt. *ś* is noted in very few instances as *š*, and then apparently only in the group *st*: e.g. Skandinavian Gy. *vašt*, *vast*, or *vas*, Italian Gy. *vašt*, beside the more usual *vast* (*hástah*); Italian Gy. *eštardó*, 'imprisoned,' beside Greek Gy. *astar-*, 'to hold' (*āstarati*, 'to cover' ?); Ruman. Gy. *naštík*, 'it is impossible,' beside the usual *nasti* (*násti*, 'it is not'). Here again the development of *st* > *št* is evidently dialectical and secondary.

It appears then that Skt. *trāsayati*, 'to frighten,' and *trāsaḥ*, 'fear,' would become Gy. **tras-* **tras*, not *traš-* *traš*; while the simple verb *trāsati*, 'to tremble,' referred to by Miklosich, would have given European Gy. **tres-*.

In Kāśmīrī, Lahndā, and Sindhī, in words which begin with a dental and in which the first syllable ended with *r* or the second (and possibly the third) syllable began with a consonant group containing *r*, by a process of anticipation the *r* was pronounced also immediately after the initial dental.

Kāśmīrī: *draḍ*, 'hardness' (*dārdhyam*, id.); *trām*, 'copper' (*tāmrām*, id.); *drōts*, 'small sickle' (cp. *dātram*, 'curved knife'); *drōlid*, 'poor' (*dāridrah*, Pkt. *dāliddō*, id.).

Sindhī: *ṭraku*, 'spindle' (*tarkuḥ*, id.); *ṭrapaṇu*, 'to frisk' (*tar-páyatē*, 'to be pleased'); *ḍrabhu*, 'the grass *Poa Cynosuroides*' (*darbháḥ*, id.); *ḍrighō*, 'tall' (*dirgháḥ*, id.); *ḍrinō*, 'frightened' (*dīrṇah*, 'scattered, frightened'); *ḍrijaṇu*, 'to be afraid' (*dīryatē*, 'to be put to flight'); *ṭrāmō*, 'copper' (*tāmrām*).

Lahndā: *trapp-*, 'to leap' (*tar-páyatē*); *trakklā*, 'iron pin' (*tarkuḥ*);

drabh (*darbhāḥ*); *drigghā*, 'long' (*dīrghāḥ*); *trāmī*, 'large open vessel' (*tāmrām*); *trakk-*, 'become putrid' (*takram*, 'buttermilk'?).¹

It must be noted that we have here a case of anticipation, not simply metathesis. For if, e.g., *dīrghā-* had become **drīgha-*, then we should have had in Sindhi **drīhō*; similarly we should have had **drīṇō* < **drīṇa-*, and **trāō* < **trāma-*. Only the intermediate forms **drīrgha-*, **drīrṇa-*, **trāmra-* can explain the actual Sindhi forms *drīghō*, *drīṇō*, *trāmō*.

Gypsy agrees with these three languages in preserving *r* after dentals and with Kāśmīrī and Lahndā in preserving it also after labials: e.g. *trin*, 'three' (*trīni*, Pkt. *tinni*, id.); *patri(n)*, 'leaf' (*pāttram*, *pattrikā*, id.); *truṣ* (*trṣā*); *drab*, 'medicine, poison' (*dravyam*, 'drug'); *drakh*, 'grape' (*drākṣā*, id.); *pras-*, 'to mock' (*prahasati*, id.); *prast-*, 'to hasten' (*prāsthitaḥ*, 'set forth'); *phral*, 'brother' (*bhrātā*, id.).

Further, the same anticipation of a following *r*, which we have seen in Kāśmīrī, Lahndā, and Sindhi, appears to have occurred in Gypsy also, if *trad-*, 'to drive away,' may be referred to a **tardāyati*, cp. Skt. *ātṛṇat*, *tatārda*, 'split open, release,' and Sindhi, *trīṛkaṇu*, 'to split' < *trd-*, cp. Skt. *trḍilāḥ*, 'porous.'

Therefore Gy. *traš-* might represent an earlier **tarṣāyati* > **trars-* > **trašš-*. Gypsy *a* regularly represents Skt. *a* before an original consonant group.

The group of words to which Skt. *trāsati* belongs is centred round an Indo-European root with the regular alternations **ters-*, **tres-*, **trṣ-*, itself an enlargement of the root *ter-* (seen in Skt. *taralāḥ*, 'trembling'). All three forms are found:

**ters-*: Gk. *éterse*, 'he feared' (Hesych.), Lat. *terreo*, 'to frighten.'

**tres-*: Skt. *trāsati*, 'to tremble,' Gk. *tréō* < **tresō*, id.

**trṣ-*: Gk. *trérōn* < **trṣ-rōn*, epithet of the pigeon (Hom.).

Lat. *terreo* has probably been altered by analogy with *terror* (stem **ters-es-*), from **torreo* < **torseyō* (represented in Umbrian by *tursitu*, 'let him frighten'), with the *o* vocalisation regular in the causative. This analogical change would be favoured in Latin by the existence of another *torreo*, 'to burn' < **trṣ-eyō* (cp. Skt. *trṣyati*, 'to be thirsty,' etc.).

Thus in primitive Indo-Aryan, beside the simple *trāsati*, there

¹ Since this note was written, the first part of Col. D. L. R. Lorimer's 'Phonetics of the Gilgit Dialect of Shinā' has appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1924, p. 1 ff.; from a study of the words given by him it appears likely that Shinā shared this peculiarity of the N.W. group:—[tra : m] copper; [praš] rib (*pārtu-*, id.).

may have been a causative **taršdyati* = Umbrian *tursitu* and probably Lat. *terreo*, which has survived in the Gy. *traš-*, 'to frighten.' The noun *traš*, 'fear' may represent earlier **tarša-*, or have been reformed after the verb from **tras* < Skt. *trāsaḥ*, 'fear,' or most probably be a quite new formation from the verb. It in its turn has affected the meaning of the verb, so that in some dialects *traš-* has the simple meaning 'to fear.' At the same time, the possibility of a simple **tres-* < Skt. *trāsati* having been affected both as to vowel and final consonant by the causative cannot be excluded.

Old Persian had *trētiy*, 'he fears.' This can be read either as *trētiy* or *tarsētiy*. According to M. Meillet¹ -s- here represents the I.E. group -sk- (as in *apream* = Skt. *āpṛccham*, 'I asked'). In this formation the root has vocalisation zero,² and the expected form would be *trētiy* < **tr̥sketi*, as found in Av. *tərəsaiti*. But to O. Pers. *trētiy* corresponds Mid. Pers. *tarsētan*, Mod. Pers. *tersēden*, 'to fear.' The regular development of O. Pers. *trētiy* would be Mid. and Mod. Pers. **tirs-*.³ The actual Pers. *tersēden*, together with Kurdish *tīrsin* (*i* < *a*⁴), Afghan *tarhēdal*, Ossetian *tarsun*, rests upon an earlier **tars-*. Baluchi *trusag*, *tursay*, probably comes from an earlier *tṛs-*. On the other hand, O. Pers. **tarš-* (< I.E. **ters-*) would have become Mid. Pers. **taš-*.⁵ It is possible that Iranian had two stems, *tṛs-* (< *tr̥sk-*) and **tarš-* (< **ters-*), from a blending of which the actual *tars-* arose. If so, it may not be simple coincidence that Gypsy, belonging to that N.W. group of Indo-Aryan languages which includes Sindhi, Lahndā and Kāśmīrī, shared this particularity of vocabulary, namely a stem *ters-*, 'tremble,' with its Iranian neighbour.⁶

The causative *trāsdyati* is first recorded in Sanskrit in the Epic language. The existence of the parallel form *prāṇhayeiti* in the Avesta makes it possible, though not necessary, to suppose that *trāsdyati* goes back to at least the Indo-Iranian period. That *trāsdyati* should have won the victory over **taršdyati* is explained by the greater similarity of its form with that of the simple verb *trāsati*. Thus we find in Sindhi *trahanu*, 'to be

¹ *Grammaire du vieux Perse*, p. 59.

² Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II. 3. 1., p. 352.

³ Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 143; and *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i. p. 273.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 287.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. p. 267.

⁶ Cp. the resemblances in Sindhi with Iranian discussed by Tedesco, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, vol. 23, p. 114.

frightened,' *trāhanu*, 'to frighten'; Panjābī has only the causative *trāhnā*, 'to remove'; Hindi *tāsnā*, 'to terrify,' can represent either **tarṣayati* or *trāsayati*, but probably does represent the latter. Neither simple nor causative appears in Nepālī, Gujarātī or Marāṭhī; while in Singhalese there is only *tāti*, 'fear' < a noun stem **trasti*-.

German Gy. *tris*-, 'to tremble,' *triser*-, 'to shake,' Finnish Gy. *tris*-, 'to shake,' with their derivatives may at first sight appear difficult. They cannot be derived from Skt. *trāsati*, since this, as shown above, would have become European Gy. **tres*-. Von Sowa¹ makes it a Slavonic loanword, but his statement would have been more convincing if he had quoted from a Slavonic language the form which would have given Gy. *tris*-. The Old Slavonic word, however, is *tresq*, 'to shake' (trans.). Of the Baltic languages Lithuanian has *trišù*, 'to tremble,' but this would give Gy. **triš*-, and in any case is not a likely source of borrowing.

But Miklosich² has already pointed out that of the Balkan languages Albanian and Bulgarian commonly borrow verbs from Greek in the form of the aorist; and that Gypsy does the same, usually, though not always, adding the suffix -ar-: thus, e.g., *līpēil*, 'he lacks' (Mod. Gk. pres. *leípō*, aor. *éleipsa*); *χasar*-, 'to lose' (Mod. Gk. pres. *khánō*, aor. *ékhasa*). Another scholar,³ after adding Rumanian to Albanian and Bulgarian (e.g. *sosi*, 'to reach' < Mod. Gk. pres. *sónō*, aor. *ésōsa*, id.), suggests that the reason the verb was borrowed in its aorist form was that the aorist imperative, which of course was augmentless, was more commonly used than the present imperative. That the imperative can form the foundation for the verb in the borrowing language is shown by Anglo-Indian slang, in which the Hindi 2nd plur. (used for 2nd sing.) imperative is taken over *en bloc* to form the English verb: thus H. *saṃjhāo*, 'explain,' becomes Anglo-Indian slang, *to sumjow*, 'to explain, to teach.'⁴ During the War among British troops in the Middle East verbs like *to imshi*, 'to go away' (from the Arabic imperative) gained considerable currency. There can be little doubt therefore that Gy. *tris*-, 'tremble,' *triser*-, 'shake,' are borrowed from the Greek aorist *étrise*, 'he shook,' *na trīsō*, 'let me shake.'

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

² *Op. cit.*, ii. p. 5.

³ Mr. N. B. Jopson, Reader in Comparative Philology of the Slavonic Languages, University of London, in a verbal communication.

⁴ *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 20.

Both Thumb, in his *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache*, and Brighenti in his dictionary state that Modern Greek *trémō* has no aorist. This agrees with Old Greek. But the forms given above, and actually quoted by Dawkins,¹ are doubtless based on Old Greek *étrisa* (pres. *tréō*), changed by analogy with the aorists of other *-eō* verbs to *étrisa* (i.e. *ἐτρησα*).²

REVIEW

Zigenarmusiken av ARTHUR THESLEFF. Finsk Tidskrift.
Mai-Juni häfte. Helsingfors, 1922.

THIS is the first of the late Mr. Thesleff's posthumous papers to appear in print. It gives a brief summary of Gypsy music, mostly gleaned from well-known sources. It is to be hoped that the two boxes containing his notes on Gypsies will contain matter of greater interest. At present they have only been examined superficially, and this article was chosen for publication as it was the only one found ready for the press.

Mr. Thesleff lays particular stress on the violin being the Gypsies' own instrument more than any other, and he is struck by the suggestion, hitherto unpublished, made by Mr. C. G. Nyblom, musical critic at Stockholm, that it may have been the Gypsies who introduced the violin into Europe, where it was unknown until about the time of their arrival.

Written Gypsy music Mr. Thesleff refers to as being not a reproduction but a bad imitation on account of the characteristic use of intervals of less than a semitone, which make the correct writing down of it impossible. The use of a gramophone is suggested as the best means for study. No reference is made to any Gypsy records, although Mr. Thesleff mentions his own collection of Albanian and Montenegrin songs. Balkan music is also characterised by intervals of less than a semitone, and he queries whether this is due to the influence of ancient Greek music or to Gypsy musicians.

¹ *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 652.

² Cp. the remarks of Thumb, *op. cit.*, p. 132, on the interchange of *e* and *i* in the aorist suffix.

After classifying Gypsy music into songs of love, lamentation, dance and reflection, Mr. Thesleff writes as follows:—

‘Concerning lamentations and nature-songs, nature is looked upon as a stern and hard master. When a Gypsy sings about nature, he very seldom expresses pleasure or joy; instead the vast majority are songs of lamentation. . . . Tender expressions towards one’s mother often occur in Gypsy songs. The death of his mother occasions the greatest sorrow to a Gypsy. Towards his father he feels fear and dread, and there is a total absence of any intimate relationship between the two.

‘A Gypsy does not sing in praise of his wife, she is only a burden to him, of her he sings lamentations.’

TONY CYRIAX.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1.—COWPER’S BROTHER AND A GYPSY

In Wright’s *Life of William Cowper*¹ will be found the following tale of Cowper’s brother John and a Gypsy. When he was a schoolboy, apparently between the years 1741 and 1749, ‘John Cowper and a schoolfellow one day had the curiosity to inquire about their fortunes from a travelling gipsy tinker, or pedlar, who came to beg at the school, in an old soldier’s red coat. The gipsy predicted to John Cowper “that he would remain a short time at Felstead, and would, after leaving it, be sent to a larger school; that he would go to the University, and, before he left it, would form an attachment strong enough to give him much disappointment, as it would not be mutual; that he would not marry before he was thirty; but after that age his fate became obscure, and the lines of his hand showed no more prognostics of futurity.”’ These predictions were fulfilled, as indeed was not very improbable, considering the obviousness of most of them. But John took the prophecy seriously: and, when at Cambridge about 1769, ‘The following incident occurred: John Cowper was walking and talking with him [the same friend] in one of the college gardens near a gate, when he suddenly interrupted the conversation and exclaimed, “Did you see that man pass?” The friend, who had observed nothing, asked what man he meant. John Cowper replied, “The very man you and I met at Felstead, and in a soldier’s jacket—I saw him pass the gate!” They both ran to it and into the public road, but saw no such person. Cowper said, “It is a warning—you know he could predict nothing of me after my thirtieth year.” As the writer who supplied Southey with these facts observes, the dejection at various times of John Cowper, and the fancied apparition of the gipsy pedlar, “were but too surely indications of the same constitutional malady which so often embittered the existence of his brother.”’

John Cowper was born in 1737 and he died in 1770.

¹ London, 1892, pp. 46, 188.

2.—MISCELLANEA

(1) A passage in the Leipzig Chronicle, which runs in the original 'Anno 1418. Seynd die Zigeuner / ein lose Diebisch / und Zeuberisch Volck / zum ersten mal in Leipzig kommen' (T. Heydenreich, *Leipzigerische Cronicke*, p. 62) was mentioned by Bataillard in the Old Series of this *Journal* (i. 275). But, as it fell outside the period with which he was dealing, he omitted to call attention to a later reference in the same work :—(1578) 'Den 4. Octob. gemeltes Jahres wurde ein grosser Hauff Zigeuner auss die Stadt gepaucket' (*ibid.*, p. 172).

(2) In the *Notice biographique et bibliographique sur Nicolas Spatar Mălescu*, by E. Picot (Paris, 1883), it is stated that about 1650 Nicolas stole a Gypsy from the monastery of Tâzläu and sold him in Wallachia for twenty-six ducats (p. 4).

3.—TURKISH GYPSIES, 1829

In 1829 Wilhelm Kloss published the third edition of his *Beschreibung der türkischen Völker ihrer Sitten und Gebräuche &c. nebst der Kaiserstadt Konstantinopel, Schumla, Silistria, Varna, Bukarest, Adrianopel und Widdin* (Magdeburg, bei dem Verfasser, 1829). Among the Asiatic inhabitants of European Turkey he mentions (p. 7) 'Zigeuner, ein Hinduvolk, vorzüglich in der Moldau und Walachei, wo sie 150,000 Köpfe stark sind, und sich in vier Klassen theilen,' expanding this brief notice later in the book (pp. 14-15) thus :—'Die Zigeuner, vorzüglich in der Moldau und Walachei, wo dies Hinduvolk gegen das Ende des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts eingewandert ist, und in der grössten Verworfenheit und Schmutze lebt. Man behandelt sie mit der grössten Strenge und Verachtung, die geringsten Vergehen werden mit den grausamsten Stockschlägen auf die Fusssohlen bestraft. Ein wenig Mamaliga (Maisküchen), einige gesalzene Fische, die halb verfault und oft weggeworfen sind, und verfaultes Fleisch, machen ihre Nahrung aus; mit Lumpen bedeckt, mit entblösstem Haupte und Füßen, wandern sie umher, und wohnen unter Zelten. Sie bekennen sich eigentlich zu keiner Religion und theilen sich in vier Klassen: Lingurary oder Löffelarbeiter, die zahlreichste Kaste, die auch das Feld bebauet; Ursary oder Musiker; Lagesch, eine zahlreiche Kaste, die sich vorzüglich mit Wahrsagen und Stehlen abgiebt; und Burkasch, die verworfenste Zigeunerkaste die nicht einmal Zelte hat, sondern in Wäldern und auf Misthaufen vegetirt, und sich von Wurzeln, Gras und krepirtem Viehe nährt.'

The Burkasch seem to correspond with those whom Vaillant called Netocî and Kogalnitchan Lăieşi, and it is interesting to note that they lived on *Misthaufen*, for Balkan Gypsies are still commonly to be found in what other races would consider dangerous proximity to the town refuse-heaps.

In his list of the inhabitants of Asiatic Turkey (p. 8) Kloss mentions 'Tschinganen (die Zigeuner Deutschlands, ein Hinduvolk), 15,000,' adding on page 9 that they are counted among the Mohammedans. His longer account of the Asiatic branch (pp. 43-5) is as follows:

'Die Tschinganen, das letzte und verworfenste der Völker des türkischen Asiens, die Zigeuner Deutschlands, ein Hindu-Volk, das sich sowohl auf der Halbinsel Kleinasien, als in den Ebenen von Damas und Haleb findet. Es hat hier seine alten Sitten noch weit unverwishter erhalten als in Europa; doch zeigt ihr Charakter weniger sittliche Verdorbenheit und ist weniger entartet. Ihr umherschweifendes, landstreichendes Leben theilen sie mit allen Nomaden; und dieses giebt ihnen weit mehr Achtung, als dies in Europa, wo lauter sesshafte Nationen wohnen, der Fall sein kann. Sie leben unter Zelten, bilden Horden, die sich wieder in kleine Banden theilen, von 50-200 Individuen.

Ihre Dürftigkeit ist Jammer erregend. Für eine ganze Horde haben sie oft nicht mehr als 2 bis 3 Zelte oder alte Leinwandstücke, aus denen sie, mit Errichtung eines Pfahls in der Mitte, eine Art Zelt bilden, das wenigstens von oben ein Obdach giebt. Haben sie ein Kameel, so erleichtert dieses den Transport ihrer Zelte; sonst müssen die Weiber, die überall zu den sauersten Arbeiten verdammt sind, das Zelt von einem Orte zum andern schleppen. Diese sind sehr nachlässig bekleidet, mehr als halbnackend, und Gesicht, Hals und Arme mit blauer Farbe bemalt; doch sind die Männer sehr eifersüchtig. Ihren Erwerb suchen [sic] sie von der Jagd und dem Verkaufe wilder Schweine, die sie an die Christen verkaufen, in der Fabrikation verschiedener Dinge aus Pferdehaaren, und in der Abdeckerei, womit sie sich hauptsächlich nähren. Auch hier essen sie alles, was essbar ist, selbst Fleisch von verrecktem Vieh. Ihre Physiognomie frappirt, wie in Europa. Der Tschingane hat schwarze Augen, eine braune, fast schwarze Gesichtsfarbe, weisse, dicht an einander stehende Zähne, eine grosse Nase, und alle Glieder sind von grosser Geschmeidigkeit und schönem Ebenmaasse. Aber ihr Blick ist wild, ihr Gesichtsausdruck grimmig und zurückstossend. Dabei sind sie im höchsten Grade schmutzig und mit Lumpen bedeckt.

‘In ihrem ganzen Wesen herrscht Trägheit, welche nur, sobald sie einen Gewinn vor sich sehen, momentan sich verliert; dabei sind sie unbekümmert um die Zukunft, und bei ihrer umherschweifenden Lebensart ohne anderes Interesse, als das für den Erwerb auf den Tag, über welchen die Sonne schon aufgegangen ist. Sie sind eben so schnell im Zorne aufbrausend, als leicht zu besänftigen, und haben alle Eigenschaften eines Kindes, den zum Manne gereiften Menschen eigentlich blos durch Entwicklung ihrer physischen Kräfte ähnelnd. Was man zu ihrer Empfehlung sagen kann, ist, dass es ihnen keinesweges an Muth fehle; daher man sie oft zu Begleitern von Caravanen &c. wählt.’

R. A. SCOTT MACFIE.

4.—THE PATRIN AMONG BUSHMEN

In *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 153-5 Mr. E. O. Winstedt discusses Berthold of Regensburg and Bishop Burchard's remarks on trail signs among robbers, and concludes that belief in the Gypsy origin of the *patrin* is shaken ‘unless very much stronger evidence of its use in Eastern Europe can be brought forward, or it can be proved to be a common practice among uncivilised and nomadic nations.’ The information supplied by Mr. H. L. Williams (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 118) might be used in support of its Gypsy or non-Gypsy origin, according as we regard the Bhântus as real Gypsies or only as Gypsy-like tribes. But the following passage from Bleek and Lloyd's *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* (London, 1911) shows quite clearly that the Bushmen of South Africa use somewhat similar trail signs. I quote the whole section (pp. 381-5), omitting some brackets used in the text and such of the foot-notes as are translations of variant readings. It should be noted that it is a translation of information supplied by natives in their own tongue.

‘They (the Bushmen) are accustomed to act thus, when another man has gone away (and) does not return, they push their foot along the ground, if they travel away; and they place grass near the marks (they have made); and the other man does thus, when he returns, he comes (and) misses them at the house. He looks at the house, he looks (and) looks, he perceives the grass standing upright. And he goes to the grass, he looks at the grass. He also perceives the grass which stands yonder.¹

¹ There are four pieces of grass, at a distance from each other, in the direction of the place to which the people have gone.

And he exclaims: "The people must have travelled away to the water pool there." And he goes to the water, while he goes, looking (and) seeking for the people, (to see) whether the people have gone to dwell at that water.

And, he goes, ascending the water's hill; he sits upon (it), that he may, sitting, look, look, seeking for the huts. And he perceives the huts, as the huts stand white yonder. He sits, looking at them; the (smoke of the) fire rises from the huts, as he sits looking. And he exclaims: "The house must be yonder!" And he arises, he goes to the house, and, returning, arrives at home.

And the other people exclaim: "Our brother must be (the one who) comes yonder; for, he is the one who walks in this manner; for, a man of the place (he) is, he knows the water. He would do thus, when he came past (and) missed the house. He would come to the water which he knew. For, ye did say that he would lose his way, when I said that we should travel away. Ye did say that he would lose his way, when I wished that we should travel away, although we had not told him about it that we should travel away; for, the water was gone. Therefore, we travelled away on account of it."

We are used also to reverse branches. We thus place them, their green top is underneath, while the stump of the branch is uppermost. And we again, we go yonder to place that branch. And we draw our foot along the ground (making a mark), while we feel that we shall not again go to place another branch; because we altogether travel away.¹

Therefore, the other man is wont to do thus, when he returns home (and) misses the house. He looks (about), and he spies a branch; and he exclaims: "The folk must have travelled away to that little pool, for, this is why they have reversed (a branch), pointing in the direction of the place where the water is. I will go down (?) to the water, that I may go to look for the people's footprints at the water, at the place to which they seem to have gone to make a house, (from which) they go to the water." And he goes to the water, he goes down (?) to the water. And he goes to look at the water, he spies the people's footpath, he takes it, he follows it, follows it along to the house.'

ALEX. RUSSELL.

5.—FOREIGN GYPSIES IN DENMARK

(1) On June 10, 1912, Josef Wendling, whose Romani name is Galima Wriduntz, his wife Maria Matza, *alias* Mara, and two youths named Johan Widutch and Johan Wendling or Wendlich,² sons of Josef's dead sisters, were brought before the police court at Muchadell in Fyn near Faaborg. The older prisoners produced a permit of residence given them four months earlier at Svendborg, and certificates showing that they were baptized at Sennheim in Upper Elsass on April 18, 1843, and March 27, 1858, respectively; and one of the youths showed a school certificate stating that he was born at Mühl sack on November 11, 1895. The younger, Johan Wendlich, who had a nickname Guzuli, said he was seventeen and was born at the same place: but he produced no papers. They all denied begging—

¹ Four branches (and sometimes five) are said to be used; the first is placed opposite to the house, the next about fifty yards distant, the next a little further than that distance, the next rather more than double the previous distance, and then, no more. At the last stick, the foot is drawn along the ground in the direction of the place to which they go, from the last stick; which leans in the same direction.

² The variations in the forms of the names are due to the police reports from which they are taken.

except the elder youth, who admitted that he had asked for money for cigarettes—or doing anything unlawful: and the old man professed to be a horse-dealer, though he admitted he had not practised his trade recently. He admitted too having been banished before, and probably was identical with a Josef Wriduch 'aged sixty-six' who was banished from Vordingborg in 1909. None of them could speak much Danish, and they only had 30 Kroner in their possession. The old people were committed to prison and the two youths banished.

(2) At the same place two days later Carolo Toikon—probably identical with Kurri Toikon (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 63), but with a new wife—who claimed to be a French subject born at Bergen in 1873, and Lisbeth his unmarried wife, with a child about ten months old, were brought before the court. She was about twenty, but did not know where she was born. He produced a permit of residence granted to him in 1889, and some later papers, and denied having done anything unlawful. He spoke good Danish; and between them they had about 78 Kroner in their possession. They were both banished.

(3) On May 30, 1912, a band of German Gypsies were arrested in Holsteinhus wood, taken to Faaborg and banished. Their names were Max Paul Schultz, born December 12, 1887, at Schönberg; Johan, son of Will Pohl, born February 9, 1895, at Liebstadt; Karl Goe called Pohl, born May 11, 1882, at Halle; and Rosa Pieterman, thirty-six years of age, born at Friedrichsløhra in Nordhausen, and two small children. They claimed to be dealing in horses and to have come to Denmark recently *via* Kiel and Stettin to join a band at Fredericia. Their chief was in Copenhagen.

(4) Rigo, who called himself in Denmark Werner, was a German Gypsy, who had smuggled himself into the country with his wife Tramutka, and they claimed to be Italians. He was a knife-grinder and they sang and played in villages. He was about thirty, short, a little lame, and crippled in one hand. They had one little girl; but they could not agree, and at last Tramutka ran away with the child to join the Toikons and Rigo went to find the Demeters. Tramutka soon found her kindred and fell in love with one of the sons, Martin or Mathé (*J. G. L. S.* N.S., vi. 62), and no longer claimed to be an Italian. But the family did not treat her child, which was so much lighter than the other Gypsy children that people thought it was kidnapped, at all well; and the Child Welfare Committee wanted to take it. As the Gypsies were continually moving that was not so easy; but at last the police found them, and many complaints were brought against them for begging, etc. The parents of young girls who had fallen in love with him complained of Angelo, *alias* Madino (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 62), the eldest son, aged twenty-two, and Marietta, the oldest daughter, was accused of fighting with a man and his family, etc. It came out in the examination that Tramutka's child was born in 1910 at Aalborg and its father was a Danish knife-grinder, with whom she had lived for a while. With her consent it was taken by the Committee. The whole Toikon family was banished on October 15, 1912, and went to Sweden. They have made several attempts at returning, and once got back for a short time as an Albanian Gypsy troop in Jack Joice's circus. But they were recognised and banished again.

Meantime Rigo was looking for Rebekka Demeter's family; but they were travelling and he could not find them, and joined the Danish Gypsies Herzberg and Nissen for a while. At last he found his kindred at Randers and was well received, as he brought news of Norwegian and Danish Gypsies and knew the whole Toikon family. He had travelled in Norway with Johan Demeter and Bomba Toikon. He has stayed with the Demeters and followed them to Gotheborg, when they were banished in February 1913.

J. MISKOW.

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JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

THIRD SERIES

VOL. III

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No. 2

I.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON.

No. 21. *Ō PATRINĪĀ KĀ BLAVÉNAS T'Ā KEKĀR NA ĴIVÉNAS.*

With a Note by Prof. W. R. HALLIDAY.

Bitā dumanō kēr tai dai t'ī tai ĵivénas 'doi. Čōrvané, čōrvané sas-lē, t'ī tai sas lā¹ te ĵal te dikél bŭtiāki.

Gyas peski tū 'viās ki bōrē filišinātī. Ō rai pŭčdās latē sō wōntsēlas; kārđās lā 'rē. "Bŭtiāki dikāva mē." "Dava tut mē bŭti." Ī bŭti kai dīdās lā, sas lā te t'atél ō patrinīd kā blavénas² tū kekār na ĵivénas.

Avrti gyas. Ĵalas talē purē droméstī, dikās bita χuredō³

THE LEAVES THAT HUNG BUT NEVER GREW

A lonely little cottage and a mother and her daughter living there. They were poor as poor could be, and the girl was forced to go and look for work.

She set off and she came to a great mansion. The lord asked her what she was seeking; he called her in. 'I am seeking work.' 'I will give thee work.' The task which he set her was to find the leaves that hung but never grew.

Away she went (to seek them). As she was going down the

¹ *sas lā*] *lā*=*lati*.

² *blavénas*] See *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., viii. 89, footnote 2.

³ *χuredō*] In *W. Gyp.* 'short, dwarfish,' fig. 'humble, of low estate.' = *Gk. Gyp. khurdō*, 'petit, jeune.' From *Skt. kṣudra*, 'small, petty.'

mūrš. "Kuškō dives tukī," xōē yov. Dikās pala latī. K'eré gyas tā pukadās peskē romiākī te dikās raikanī tārnī juvel 'prē ō drom tā tujanés dikélas.

Gyas anlē pos te l'atīās bita kēr. Kekār na dikās les maṅkē 'dovd: trašadt sas-lī. "Sōr nēvibén maṅī sī 'kavá," pukadās kokoriākī.

Kūrdās ō huddr tā 'vrī 'vīās purī čoveṅant. I tārnī čai pučdās būtiākī, t'ī purī čoveṅant kārđās lā aré bita komōriātī. Dikās bōrō kōlō bōlō pāndilō 'prē aré kunséstī. I purī čoveṅant kedās kuškī muterimāṅerī lakī, tā dīās lā dosta te xol. Xoiās peskō pēr pārdō; kedās te xol.

Sōr sas ī purē čoveṅaniātī te del lā, te rakél¹ akáva kōlō bōlō. I čai rakdās ō bōlō kūrkeṅī. Na juvélas kek sār te pučél ī purē čoveṅaniātē trušal ī patrinīd.

K'int tā xoiant gyas. Yek dives xōē kōlē bōléskī: "Bōlāia! bōlāia! dīta sār sī mīrē vastā 'kanš! Pōrnē tā yūžē sas-lē kana 'vīom akāi: te xuīmen tā čikalé šī-lē 'kanš, trušal dikāva pala tutī." "Ač bita, manča tū, 'vesa tūya kōlī bōlī ar'ō vavēr kunsus

lane she met a little dwarfish man. 'Good day to thee,' quoth he. He (turned and) looked after her. He went home and told his wife that he had seen a lovely young woman upon the road but she was looking troubled.

She journeyed on until she found a small house. Never before had she seen it: she was astonished. 'This is all strange to me,' she said to herself.

She knocked at the door and out came an old witch. The young girl asked for work, and the old witch bade her come into her little parlour. She saw a great black boar chained up in one corner. The old witch made some good tea for her, and gave her plenty to eat. She ate her fill, and made an end of her meal.

The only work which the old witch had to give her was to look after this black boar. The girl tended the boar for weeks. She knew not how she should question the old witch concerning the leaves.

She grew weary and discontented. One day she exclaimed to the black boar: 'O boar, boar, see the state my hands are in now! They were white and delicate when I came here; but how rough and dirty are they now through looking after thee!' 'Wait a while,' quoth he, 'I warrant thee thou wilt presently find thyself

¹ *te rak'el*] = *sas te rak'el*.

'kana-sig," *χῶῆ yov.* "Soskī 'vīān tū akái?" *pučdās ō bōlō latē.* "Vīóm mē 'kai te r'odá ī patrīnīēyī kā blavénas tā kekār na jivénas."

• Sō kekār sas ō lav pēndilō ēidās pes¹ ō bōlō tārnē restī. "Jō opré ō pōrdos aré ī čoveχanīākō vodréskō tan," *χῶῆ yov,* "tā ēi tō vast talal lakō šeránd.² L'atésa bita gonō 'doi. Kana ēivésa tō vast tōp ō patrīnīd, baχter ī čoveχant te 'čel sutt, ne te jaŋavél."

Opré gyas, ēidās peskō vast tōp ō gonō, tā baχterdās ī čoveχant te 'cel sutt, ne te jaŋavél. 'Yas ō gonō tā talé 'vīās. Dīās poš ī patrīnīd ī tārnē reskī.

"Nē 'kanš," *χῶῆ* ō tārnō rai, "baχterdāsa trin kold ī čoveχanīākī kana jaŋavéla, tā pučēla anī 'vesa tūya ar'ō vodros. Yek kova, pūkavél ō sastārn: 'Tārdāva yōg avrt.' Ō vavēr kova, pūkavél ī šuvél: 'Yūzerāva ō kēr.' Ō dūrtanō kova, pūkavél ī skamīn: 'Akē mē 'vava akanš.'" Baχterdās ī čai ō trin kold, ē' ō dūi gilē peŋī.

a black sow in the other corner. Why hast thou come hither?' the boar asked her. 'I came here to seek the leaves that hung but never grew.'

No sooner was the word spoken than the boar was transformed into a young gentleman. 'Go upstairs into the witch's bed-chamber,' quoth he, 'and put thy hand beneath her pillow. Thou wilt find a little wallet there. When thou layest thy hand upon the leaves, wish that the witch may remain asleep and not awaken.'

She went upstairs; she laid her hand upon the wallet, and willed the witch to remain asleep and not awaken. She took the wallet and came downstairs. She gave half the leaves to the young gentleman.

'And now,' quoth he, 'let us devise three enchantments for the witch when she wakes, and asks whether thou art coming to bed. First the poker shall say: "I am raking out the fire." Then the broom shall say: "I am sweeping the room." Lastly the chair shall say: "I am coming now."' The girl wished these three things, and the two fled away together.

¹ *ēidās pes*] See *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, ii. 105, footnote 2.

² *šeránd*] *šeránd* (*šērō + -and*) 'top end, head' (a parallel formation to *pīrand* (*pīrō + -and*), 'lower end, bottom,' unrecorded in Cont. dialects), in *W. Gyp.* is used in its original sense, as well as with the secondary meaning 'pillow' as in *Gk. Gyp.*

Akē janavél ī čovexant! K'ārdās ī raklī te 'vel aré ō vodros. P'ukadās ō sastārn: "Tārdāva yōg avrt." K'ārdās lā pōpalē. P'ukadās ī šuvél: "Yūžerāva ō kēr." K'ārdās lā yekār-tt.¹ P'ukadās ī skamīn: "Akē mē 'vava 'kanš." Na 'vīds ī raklī kek. K'ārdās ī čovexant pōpalē. Sas 'doi kek lav p'ukadō pōlē lakī.

Ruśdās ī čovexant. Haiadās te gilē penī ō dūī. K'ārdās tōp peskī čai. P'endās lakī te jal pala lendī, tū sō dikēlas tōp ō drom te andél lasa keré.

Akēk'ón lena ō drom! Ō dūī dikē ī čovexanīākī čai te 'vela pala lendī ojš-sār bavál. Akē pōšē lendī 'kanš. P'ukadās ō rai ī tārnē rakiākī: "Baaxter tut rečātī, tū baaxter man pānīéstī kā prastēla; kuna jalas te filél tut oxtē talal ō pānī." Ojš kedās. Ō tārnō rai čidās pes aré panīéstī 'dō-kai prastēlas, f'ī tārnī čai baaxterdās pes aré rečātī.

Akē 'vela opré kī yon ī čovexanīākī čai. 'Vīds pōšē rečātī, wōntsēlas te filél lū. "Reča, reča, raikanī bita reča," xōčē yoi,

Lo! the witch awakens. She called the girl to come to bed. The poker answered: 'I am raking out the fire.' She called her again. The broom answered: 'I am sweeping the room.' She called her once more. The chair answered: 'I am coming now.' The girl came not. The witch called again. There was no answer.

The witch was furious. She realised that the two had escaped. She called her daughter and told her to follow them, and whatsoever she should see on the road to bring home with her.

Lo! the two are speeding on their way. They saw the witch's daughter coming after them like the wind. She has almost overtaken them now. Said the gentleman to the maiden: 'Wish thyself a duck and me a running stream; when she tries to catch thee dive beneath the water.' She did so. The youth was transformed into a running stream and the girl turned herself into a duck.

And now the witch's daughter overtakes them. She approached the duck; she tried to catch her. 'Duck, duck, pretty little duck,' quoth she; 'hast thou seen any one pass this way?'

¹ [It] An early borrowing from Eng. dial. 'yit' = 'yet.' I also find this word in a letter penes me of John Roberts dated Nov. 15, 1877: 'ne nai mawry bita chai keck neer mishtoe it,' i.e. 'our little girl is not nearly well yet.'

"dikán komóni te niserén¹ akatár?" Sōkon čēros te gyas pōšē bita reča, oxtiās ī bita reča talal ō pānī.

Gyas kerē ī čoveḡaniāki čai tā pēndās peskē dakī te dikās bita reča tōp ō pānī, tā ēi palāl. "Okēk'ón!" ɣoč'ī pūrī čoveḡant. "fō pōlē tā and maḡi yek poř avrt rečātī, andāva len mē pōlē sig-sig." Gyas pōlē te lel ō poř. Na dikās kek reča nā pānī. Ō dūi gilē. P'agē-ōziēskerī sas-lī. Gyas kerē tā pūkadas ī pūrē čoveḡaniāki te ēi na l'atēlas.

Akē dūi stavēna pen pōs te 'vena kī dūi droméndī. Akāi sas len te mukén vaverkén. Kedē ō dūi kitanés te jal yov kerē, tā te 'vel pōlē kī yoi popalē. Xoč'ī tārnī raklī ī tārnē reskī: "Kana 'vesa tūya kerē mō muk kek o tīrē fōkī te čumerén tut, bišterésa man."

K'erē gyas akāva tārnō rai. Na dikē les kek bērsēḡī. Ō palā tā pēnyā munjerdē tā čumerdē les. Bišterdās pes akāia tārnī raklī.

'Čas ī raklī tōp ō dūi dromā bōrī waila. Haiadas yoi tala te leskē fōkī čumerdē les; bišterdt sas-lī. Gyas kerē kī peskī dai, k'ō čurō kēr 'doi-kā jivēlas.

Every time that she came close to the little duck, the little duck dived beneath the water.

The witch's daughter went home and told her mother that she had seen a little duck swimming on the water and naught else. 'Those were they!' cried the old witch. 'Return thou and fetch me but one feather from the duck, and I will very soon have them back again.' She returned to get the feather. She saw neither duck nor stream. Both had vanished. She was broken-hearted. She went home and told the old witch that she could find nothing.

Lo! the two haste away until they reach a fork of the road. Here they were obliged to part from one another. They arranged that he should go to his home and return again to her. Quoth the girl to the youth: 'When thou arrivest home let not any of thy kinsfolk kiss thee, or thou wilt forget me.'

The young man went home. His family had not seen him for years. His brothers and sisters hugged him and kissed him. He forgot all about this young maiden.

The girl waited long at the fork of the road. At last she felt sure that his kinsfolk had kissed him, and that she was forgotten. She went home to her mother, to the humble cottage where she lived.

¹ komóni te niserén] Komóni, here plural, unlike kek may be used with the verb in either number.

Dūi divesā nakdē. 'Viās ō bōrō rai te dikēl anī l'atīās ō patrinīd. "Viān kerē, tārnī ēai," xō'ō rai. "Aua" xō'ē yoi, tā gyas ar'ō moxtō, tā tārdiās ō patrinīd avrt. Jundīās len ō rai sō kekār dikās len.

'Doi sas būt lovō te 'vel linō odolēskī kā l'atēlas ō patrinīd; tā 'kaia čurī ēai jūnēlas ēi trušal lestī. Ō rai wōntsēlas ō lovō peskē nōgē ēakī. Na jūnēlas kek sō te kel akāla čurē rakīātī. Pēndās lakī te 'vel k'ī filišīn te lel muterimāgerī, t'ī čurī dai 'ēlas lakī te 'vel kerē, tā būt lovō latī.

Ō bōrō rai wōntsēlas te lel lakō meriben. Čidās lā arē fainē komōriātī, tā vodros kokorīākī. Sas vavēr vodros 'pārl lakō šērō, tā sastārnēskē spinlī 'rē lestī te pēr'n tōp latī, te mār'n lā kana sovēlas. Kana pērdās akāva vodros sas les te kel bōrī godlī, ī reskī te jūnēl te sas yoi mārdt.

Ak'ī bōrī ōra 'kanō! Dīās ī yakēyerī. Jāpadās ī ēai. Dikās akāva vodros te 'velas talē pōšedēr t'ā pōšedēr. Reperdās pes trušal ō patrinīd. Kana reperdās pes trušal ō patrinīd, reperdās pes trušal ō tārnō mūrš. Tārdiās patrīn avrt poči, tā 'viās ō tārnō rai kī yoi sig-sig. Oxtīās oprē tā dīās ō vast leskī.

Two days passed. The lord came to see whether she had found the leaves. 'Thou hast come home, young woman,' said he. 'Yes,' quoth she, and she put her hand in a casket and drew forth the leaves. The lord knew them as soon as he saw them.

Now there was a great reward offered to whomsoever should find these leaves; but this poor girl knew nothing about it. The lord wanted the money for his own daughter. He did not know how to get rid of this poor girl. He invited her to the mansion to take tea, and her poor mother expected that she would return home with much money.

The lord was trying to take her life. He lodged her in a fine room with a bed to herself. Above her head was a sort of canopy set with iron spikes which was to fall upon her and kill her while she slept. It was to make a great noise as it fell, so that the lord might know that she was killed.

Lo! it is midnight now. The clock struck the hour. It awoke the girl. She saw this canopy descending closer and closer upon her. She bethought her of the leaves. When she bethought her of the leaves, she bethought her of the young man. She drew a leaf from her pocket and immediately he stood before her. She sprang up and gave him her hand.

Pukadās lakī ō tārnō mūrš te baxterél te sōr te sovén. Baxterdās len te sovén. "Nē 'kanš, jasa 'menī," xōčē yov. Gyas k'ō hudār tā piradās les šukār. Ō dūi niserdē peṇī, tā kek te dikē lēn. Sōr sas konyō.

"Trašāva mē te jivā mē dasa," xōčē yoi leskī. "Wontsāva te jā dūredēr, oḡš-sār na l'atēla man ō bōrō rai kek." "Oḡš me jal! 'vava mē tusa, jō kai jasa," xōč'ō tārnō rai.

'Yas lā kī peskō kēr. "Nē 'kanš," xōč'ō tārnō rai, "šī 'men tan te rakerās 'kitanēs. Bīavāsa¹ 'mē dūi!" Dīās les ō vast. "Okē kova te wontsāva maia," xōč'i tārnī juvel, "'vīās a' mīrō šērō te pučā tutē."

Pukadās ō rai i greṇeréskī te čivél grai aré gīga. Ō dūi gilē peṇī 'prē kī Lundra. Romerdē ar'i Lundra. Pōlē 'vilē kī Wolšī pōpalē. Rigerénas pišalō pōš ō dōriāv, t'ō dūi jivénas odōi baxtalēs odōva dives kī 'kava dives.

Bōrī goi maṇī te pukavā² akāva xoχibén tukī!

The young man told her to will them all to sleep. She willed them to sleep. 'Now then,' quoth he, 'let us be gone.' He went to the door and opened it softly. The two stole away and none beheld them go. All was still.

'I am afraid to live with my mother,' quoth she to him. 'I want to go further away, so that the lord cannot find me.' 'So be it! I will come with thee, go where thou wilt,' said the young gentleman.

He took her to his own home. 'And now,' quoth the young gentleman, 'we have a place where we can talk undisturbed. Shall we two wed?' She gave him her hand. 'That is the very thing I myself desire,' said the young woman, 'I had thought to ask thee.'

The gentleman told the coachman to harness the horse to the carriage. They both drove away to London. In London they were married. Then they came back again to Wales. They kept a mill beside the sea and lived there happily from that day to this.

And thou owest me a big pudding for telling thee this lie.

¹ *bīavāsa*] denominative without suffix of Gk. Gyp. *bīāv*, 'marriage' (unheard in this dialect), *bīāv kerdva*, 'to marry.'

² *te pukavā*] The conj. *te* here has the causal force of Lat. 'quod.' In Germ. Gyp. *ke* is used in a like sense, cp. Pott, i. 311 (from Zipp.), *E manuscha merrna, ke but mohl pjena*, 'the men are dying because they drink too much wine.'

[The literature dealing with the group of stories to which this belongs is considerable. The following references may be consulted as a guide thereto. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, pp. 87-102; Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales*, i. pp. 33-9, 233-4; Cosquin, *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*, i. pp. 103-7: ii. pp. 9-28; Cosquin, *Études Folkloriques*, pp. 585-93; Bolte und Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, i. pp. 442-3, 498-503: ii. pp. 62, 77-9, 140-6, 516-27: iii. pp. 338-9, 406-17. The main part of our story belongs to a group of *Märchen* of which Grimm, Nos. 51, 56, 79, 113, 186, and 193, are representatives. To these may be added Grimm, No. 70A, *Das Okerlo*, but this tale, together with the two variants quoted by Bolte und Polívka, appears to be derived from the literary version of Countess D'Aulnoy, which is printed in *Cabinet des Fées*, ii. p. 313. The essential incidents of the plot may thus be set forth in outline.

- A. The performance of difficult tasks by the hero with the help of the daughter of the ogre (wizard, magician, devil, or similar magical person), who has fallen in love with him.
- B. Elopement of the lovers which is successfully achieved:—
 - (B 1) by magical transformations,
 - (B 2) by throwing objects behind them which magically create impassible obstacles,
 - (B 3) by a combination of both these devices.
- C. The heroine is temporarily left alone while the hero visits his people. In spite of her warning, he is kissed by one of his family and consequently forgets her.
- D. The hero's memory is awakened when he is on the point of marriage to a suppositious bride:—
 - (D 1) by the heroine, who has bought three nights in the bridal chamber from the suppositious bride,
 - (D 2) by overhearing the heroine reciting her story to some animal (often to her doves, *e.g.* Grimm, No. 67) or object,
 - (D 3) by a second kiss exchanged with the heroine,
 - (D 4) by a ring dropped into his cup or by a key or other token, which recalls his past adventures.

This series of incidents may obviously follow after almost any form of introduction which brings the hero into taking up his

residence with an ogre's family, and in fact there is great variety in the means by which he is brought there. He may be lured by the pursuit of a green bird or a green hare (Cosquin, *C. L.*, i. p. 103); he may be handed over as the result of a rash promise of his father (Grimm, Nos. 51, 113); his sojourn may be the result of gambling with a stranger (Cosquin, *C. L.*, ii. p. 9), or he may merely have taken service with this undesirable master (Cosquin, *C. L.*, ii. p. 13). In Grimm, No. 79, brother and sister fall into a well and thus come into the service of the water spirit; Grimm, Nos. 51 and 56, employs the witch stepmother device; the Hänsel and Gretel story sometimes forms the introduction to our series of incidents (see B. and P., ii. p. 498).

There are three Gypsy variants belonging to this group of stories in Groome. No. 34 opens with the rash promise; then follow incidents *A* and *B* 3 (transformations into wheatfield and peasant, church and monk, and magical obstacles, comb, whetstone, and towel). In *C* the kiss of forgetfulness has dropped out; the heroine requires three years' solitude to expiate her father's death. In *D* 4 the recognition is by the ring in the goblet. For this incident see Child, *Popular Ballads of England and Scotland*, i. pp. 190 foll.: B. and P., ii. p. 348. For the alternative key episode see B. and P., ii. p. 59.

In Groome, No. 50, the *Swan Maiden* story is used to bring the hero to the wizard father's house, a not unusual form of introduction, for examples of which see B. and P., ii. p. 517: iii. p. 467. There follow *A* and *B* 1, the transformations being into flower and meadow, church and old man, duck and drake. The end of the story is broken down.

For the transformation into church and priest, which occurs in both these Gypsy stories, and is a regular trait of European versions, see Cosquin, *Études Folkloriques*, pp. 585-93, where Indian analogies are discussed.

Groome, No. 62, also belongs to the series, though it breaks off before reaching the magical flight. Here the introduction employs the gambling *motif*. The tasks include the very common incident of picking out the right bride from among her sisters. For this see B. and P., ii. pp. 28-9.

It will have been noticed that in the normal form of these stories it is a hero who performs the tasks and elopes with the help of the daughter of the ogre. There are examples, however, in which the rôles of the sexes are reversed and a heroine wins

through with the help of her lover, the ogre's son, *e.g.* in the Italian, Hungarian, and Turkish variants quoted by B. and P., ii. p. 528. This latter may be thought to have been the original form of our version, which has been weakened by the substitution of a lover who is not the ogre's son but another victim of enchantment, perhaps through the influence of the Hänsel and Gretel or children and stepmother forms of introduction, the occurrence of which have been noted above.

The story of the elopement achieved by magical transformations, which we may perhaps call the Transformation Flight, has obvious affinities with the Transformation Fight of the *Magician and Pupil* story (Grimm, No. 68), which is probably most familiar in *The Second Kalandar's Tale* (Burton-Smithers, *Arabian Nights*, i. pp. 123 foll.). Upon the relationship of these see Cosquin, *Études Folkloriques*, pp. 585-93, and Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, i. pp. 413 foll. Child, *op. cit.*, i. p. 399, has suggested that the very common ballad of *The Two Magicians* type is derived from the Transformation Flight and the Transformation Fight cycle of stories. But probably B. and P., ii. p. 68, are right in rejecting this view. It may be thought rather to belong to the story of the successful wooing by magic and violence of a magical bride, of which the winning of Thetis by Peleus may be taken as a typical form.

Andrew Lang regarded the tale of Jason and Medea as a variant belonging to the group of stories which we have been examining. It is true that the plot of the Greek story can be reduced to something of the same skeleton, but the similarity is at best vague and general. It does not seem to me in a real sense a variant form of the same story. On the other hand, there are traces of something very like the Transformation Flight in the story of Zeus and Aegina in Schol. A., *Iliad*, i. 180. Zeus had stolen Aegina, daughter of the river Asopus, had taken her to Phlius, and seduced her, thus begetting Aeacus. 'But Asopus seeking his daughter, learned from Sisyphus both the name of the seducer and the place where he had taken refuge. He therefore hastened off without delay. But Zeus, when about to be caught red-handed, transformed Aegina into the island of that name, and himself was transformed into a stone. Asopus then arriving and not finding anybody, turned back again to his own waters.'

If we turn to the detail of our version, it is at once evident upon internal evidence that the coherence of the plot has suffered

in the process of oral transmission. The meeting with the dwarfish man has no consequences. If the black boar could regain his shape by mentioning the magical leaves, why had he not done so before, and if he knew where they were kept, why had he not earlier taken them? The elopement has retained only one transformation, and the villain is not done to death, as he usually is. The incidents which follow the kiss of forgetfulness are obviously confused, and, as they stand, inadequately coherent.

I should suggest that the opening is due to a confusion between the forms of introduction (*a*) in which the hero is brought to the villain's house by the search of some magical animal or object, and (*b*) in which the hero takes service with the villain. I do not know an exact equivalent to the *Leaves that hung but never grew*. They belong obviously to the kind of magical object the search for which, often in order to cure his royal father of blindness or disease, is frequently the cause of the hero setting out upon his adventures.

The delaying of pursuit by the answering of pieces of furniture, drops of blood, spittle, beans, or similar magical agents is commonly an incident in the Transformation Flight. Examples may be found in B. and P., i. p. 501: ii. p. 527; the matter is also illustrated and discussed in Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, ii. pp. 60 foll.

The canopy with iron spikes, which automatically descends upon the sleeper, has possibly an unguine appearance. But the incident of the escape from murder in bed is sound tradition, though it is misplaced and belongs properly to the part of the story which comes before the flight. Compare, for example, Cosquin, *C. L.*, ii. p. 10, where Jean sleeps, not in the bed which the devil suggests, but in another. 'Pendant toute la nuit, le diable ne cessa de secouer et d'agiter dans tous les sens le lit dans lequel il pensait que le jeune homme s'était couché,' and was very much surprised to find him alive in the morning. Where the introduction takes the stepmother form, the change of beds and the consequent killing of its own child by the ogre is a frequent incident (see examples in B. and P., i. p. 499).

Finally, for comparison with the familiar black pudding of our storyteller, mention may be made of the admirable specimen of the nonsense conclusion with which Grimm, No. 70A, *Das Okerlo*, ends. 'Wast thou also at the wedding? Yes, indeed, I was there. My headgear was of butter, but I came into the sun and it was

melted off me. My coat was of gossamer, but I came through thorns and they tore it off me. My slippers were of glass, but I trod on a stone and they broke in pieces.' W. R. H.]

II.—ENGLISH GYPSY DEATH AND BURIAL CUSTOMS¹

(Continued from p. 38.)

By T. W. THOMPSON

VI

THE freshly filled graves of Louis and Vashti Boswell were guarded at night; and after Celia Chilcott's funeral 'a person [was] appointed to watch the grave for some weeks to protect it.' At Eastwood, we are told, the vigils were due to fear of resurrectionism, which menaced London as early as 1776,² and had long since spread over the country; whilst a similar explanation of the procedure adopted at Coggeshall may be accepted with safety, for even by 1842 grave-rifling had not been stamped out. Further examples of identical protective measures against it would be superfluous, but brief mention may usefully be made of the surreptitious removal of the bodies of Thomas and Alexander Lee from Streatham churchyard, near London, in 1812;³ of Crabb's story of a party of Gypsies who were so alarmed by an application for the corpse of one who had just died among them that they decamped with it a distance of thirty miles, and then 'watched the grave with weapons ten whole nights';⁴ and of 'Young' Charlie Graham's execution at Perth in 1795, after which, and the usual lyke-wake, 'his sweetheart or gipsy wife . . . of the name of Wilson, his own cousin, put his corpse into hot lime, then buried it, and sat on his grave in a state of intoxication till the body was rendered unfit for dissection.'⁵

¹ In addition to acknowledgments already made, and to follow, I have to thank the incumbents of the parishes of Balsham, Croxton, Raunds, Kirkby Lonsdale, Brassington, Towersey, and Wrenbury for very kindly furnishing extracts from their parish registers; and the vicar of Haslingfield for permission to examine his.

² *Annual Register*, vol. xix. (1776), pp. 128-9. The *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'resurrection man,' quotes from R. King, *Modern London Spy*, 1781: '106 Persons (under the name of resurrection-men) continue their business, getting from 1 guinea to 5 or 6, according to the value set on the corpse they take up.'

³ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 19 (from the *Times*, April 30, 1812). Alexander seems to be a mistake for Adam.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

⁵ *Account of the Gipsies*, p. 26; Simson, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

Very probably the high iron railing erected round Louis Boswell's grave was also intended to deter resurrection men. Following Absolom Smith's burial at Twyford, Leicestershire, in 1826, at the abnormal depth of twelve feet, 'good oak palisades, over six feet high,' were set up as a barrier.¹ In the early eighties they might still be seen *in situ*, but not very long afterwards, says Elvaira Smith, the village baker began fetching them one by one to heat his ovens, an act of vandalism he had to requite in the end by putting up gilded iron rails in their stead. Before the days of body-snatching, however, protecting fences were sometimes placed round Gypsy graves—Charles Boswell's at Rossington, for example;² and even now they are not altogether out of favour, as is shown by Iza Heron's anxiety to have an iron railing round his father's grave: so too much must not be attributed to fear of corpse stealing when reasons for their erection are in question.³

The filling in of Vashti Boswell's grave with a mixture partly composed of chaff is described by Mr. Darrington as a further precaution against the activities of resurrectionists. The latter, who had to be quick over their ghoulis business to avoid detection, usually excavated at the head of the grave only, and then broke off the exposed part of the coffin lid by wrenching it upwards against the undisturbed earth. The effects on this operation of mingling chaff with the soil when a grave was filled are readily visualized: the sides of a narrow hole would inevitably fall in as digging proceeded, and so delay its conclusion; whilst, if the head of the coffin was ever reached, no amount of forceful leverage would snap the lid in two should the overlying material yield to pressure, as it would presumably. By doing so it might, of course, permit of the body being dragged out, but not without great difficulty in so cramped a working space.

At Absolom Smith's funeral timber and straw were laid in the grave over the coffin; and as his relatives clearly feared illicit disinterment the motive is hardly in doubt. Planks of adequate thickness laid from end to end of the grave would, in fact, form a

¹ *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries*, vol. i. (1891), pp. 94-5.

² J. Hunter, *History of South Yorkshire* (1828), vol. i. p. 68.

³ When Rēni Buckland was buried at Reading in 1912 a daughter of Plato Buckland mounted guard over the grave in which one of her own children lies, and drove off people who, in their ignorance, threatened to trample on it. It may be, then, that railings have been erected sometimes to prevent the grave being walked over. Imitation, for the sake of display, of a practice confined among gorgios to the better-to-do is another possible motive.

particularly strong defence against body snatchers working in the customary manner; whilst an admixture of straw in the filling might, like the presence of chaff, cause collapses during the digging, through entanglement with the implements used, or when an attempt was made to remove it by hand. An alternative explanation, much less convincing to my mind, is that the timber and straw were relics of earlier modes of burial, half forgotten, and misapplied. In Flanders at one time it was usual to wrap corpses in straw instead of a winding sheet:¹ in 1562 the overseers of St. Margaret's, Westminster, recorded a payment 'for bringing of straw from Mr. Worleyes for the deceased girle aforesaid,' perhaps to bury her in: and from 1679 until the early years of the nineteenth century, when a law was in force here forbidding the use of other than woollen cloth for shrouds and winding sheets, it was occasionally evaded by covering the body with hay or flowers;² to which, conjecturally, straw may be added. As for timber, Gjorgjević mentions that Serbian Gypsies are buried uncoffined with sloping boards over the body to protect it from falling earth, a custom also prevalent among gorgios in Turkey, and perhaps in south-eastern Europe generally;³ whilst in England, where its former occurrence, though probable enough, has not been noticed, so far as I know, a parish shell was sometimes used, with a detachable plank at the bottom that was lowered into the grave with the corpse, and left there.⁴

Louis Boswell's relations, according to Howitt, 'would fain have stipulated with the clergyman [at Eastwood] for his interment in the church, not on account of any notion of the sanctity of the place, but for its security'—presumably against grave robbers. Most of his ancestors had been so buried, if an 'aged beldame of the tribe' may be believed; and possibly she may, for, apart from a tradition current among Lawrence Boswell's descendants that his Boswell and Buckland relations interred their dead in churches, there is documentary evidence which, slight as it is, lends support to her assertion. After 1800 the privilege was commonly refused, as at Knowle in 1833 when permission was sought to open a grave for Lawrence Boswell in one of the aisles, and I have noticed from then onwards only two intramural burials of

¹ *Bulletin de Folklore*, vol. ii. (Liège, 1895), p. 338.

² J. E. Vaux, *Church Folk Lore*, 2nd ed. (London, 1902), pp. 183-5.

³ *Die Zigeuner in Serbien*, Teil i. (Budapest, 1903), p. 68.

⁴ Vaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-90.

Gypsies, neither of whom is identifiable.¹ But the last twenty years of the eighteenth century yield a crop of six, and it is not a little remarkable that five of them are of Boswells, and the remaining one of a Buckland. In Ickleford Church, near Hitchin, there were three interments—those of Henry Boswell, aged 90, in 1780, his wife, Elizabeth, aged 70, in 1782, and their three-year-old grandchild, Elizabeth, daughter of William and Hannah Boswell, in 1796; whilst Ashena, daughter of Edward and Greenleaf Boswell, and Rose, daughter of Edward and Sarah Boswell, the latter aged 17, were buried respectively in Streatham Church, near Ely, in 1783, and South Luffenham Church, Rutland, in 1794, which is also the date of Peter Buckland's alleged sepulture in Steeple Barton Church, Oxfordshire.²

Seeing that this batch of intramural interments synchronises with the rise and spread of resurrectionism, it is justifiable, I think, to connect the two things. But similar burials had occurred long before grave-rifling became a lucrative crime—there was George Powell's at Newington, then a London suburb, in 1704 or 1705;³ that of 'Edward Boswell, gent.,' whom tradition called a 'King of the Gipsies,' at Winslow, Buckinghamshire, in 1689;⁴ and John Bucle's in King Athelstone's chapel at Malmesbury in 1657⁵—and they date back at least as far as 1533, when 7s. 6d. was 'receuyd of the gypcous [? gypecons] for brekyng ground in the church for one of their company' by the wardens of Allhallow's, Lydd, in Kent.⁶ Other motives, therefore, must have operated, the chief of them, no doubt, being a desire to imitate aristocratic practices, which, it may be remarked, led Lawrence Boswell's kindred, and some of the Bucklands, to prefer marriage by licence to having their banns called in church.⁷

¹ *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, vol. viii. (1914-15), p. 121; Crabb, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

² Groome, *op. cit.*, p. 117; *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries*, vol. ii. pp. 251-2; *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ix. 149. There were several consultations between the parson, wardens, and parishioners before Rose Boswell's interment in South Luffenham Church was allowed, as the wardens objected.

³ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 319 (from Aubrey's *Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, vol. v., London, 1719, p. 136); *ibid.*, N.S., ix. 130-1.

⁴ J. J. Sheahan, *History and Topography of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1862), p. 795.

⁵ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 331 (from J. M. Moffatt, *History of the Town of Malmesbury*, Tetbury, 1805, p. 71).

⁶ A. Hussey and M. M. Hardy, *Records of Lydd* (Ashford, 1911), p. 361.

⁷ Cf. Vaux, *op. cit.*, p. 119, where a letter written by Horace Walpole to a Mr. Conway on May 22, 1753, is quoted to the effect that the publication of banns was considered degrading by fashionable people. This was so in Vaux's experience too.

A number of Gypsies besides Louis, Frampton, and Vashti Boswell have been interred close to the church fabric. Lawrence Boswell's tomb at Knowle is attached to one of the walls;¹ Inverto Boswell's at Calne was so near the building that it had to be disturbed when a restoration was undertaken;² and Charles Boswell's at Rossington practically adjoined the choir door.³ At Raunds, in Northamptonshire, a Boswell is said to have been buried under, or just outside, the church porch; at Balsham, in Cambridgeshire, Charles Gray, who died in 1862, 'chose a grave close to the church door, because he thought it would be lively on Sundays when the folks gossiped there';⁴ and, if his family could have had their way, a Gypsy dying in a Gloucestershire village about 1870-80 would have been interred in a vault under the church porch. As it is, he lies beneath a spreading yew-tree,⁵ a site many Gypsies would have coveted. Caroline Gray was buried at Little Coates, near Grimsby, because the churchyard there is tree-shaded; and Isaac Heron under a hedge at Manston by Iza's special request; whilst other examples of a preference for the proximity of trees and hedges could easily be given.

The proposal to take Louis Boswell from Nottingham into Northamptonshire to bury is in no way remarkable (though why Eastwood, lying north-west of the city, should be reached *en route* is certainly mysterious). His son, Frampton, was conveyed from Shropshire to Eastwood after his death; Lawrence Boswell from Wilne to Knowle, where his son, Lawrence, had been interred, possibly inside the church, in 1815; Frederick Smith from Douglas, Isle of Man, where he died in 1889, to Birkenhead, the burial-place of his grandmother, Elizabeth;⁶ Elijah Smith from the Clee Hills to Croxton in Staffordshire, that he might lie beside his wife, Margery Lock, whose death in 1885 he survived seven years; and, to give only one more of a score of instances, Isaac Heron from Sutton-on-Trent to Manston, because of his great regard for our late member, the Rev. H. H. Malleon, then vicar of the parish.

¹ I am very greatly indebted to the Rev. T. W. Downing, vicar of Knowle, for this and other information.

² *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 77 (from Marsh, *op. cit.*, p. 163), supplemented by private information.

³ Groome, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

⁴ E. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 237. Hunter, *l.c.*, says the grave was near the chancel door.

⁵ Morwood, *op. cit.*, p. 181-2. ⁶ Communicated by Mr. Myers and Mr. Macfie.

Nor is it really surprising that Louis Boswell's kinsfolk spoke of a 'usual burying-place,' even if they did not mean Raunds, where, according to a William Boss interviewed by Goddard Johnson in 1822,¹ 'several of his family lie,' and where some very defective registers record the interments of John Boswell in 1781, Lawrence, son of Lawrence Boswell, in 1784, and William Boswell in 1801. Three or more related Gypsies are also buried at Ickleford, Ibstock, Chellaston, Northfleet, Wilford, Connah's Quay, Llandegfan, Llanddaniel-fab, and several other places, a majority of them remote from permanent camps or settlements; whilst it seems to have been a regular practice to inter members of the Joules family at Yatton, English Stanleys at Norton Fitzwarren, near Taunton,² and American Stanleys at Dayton, Ohio.

VII

The Lichfield diocese contains a parish called No Man's Heath, and in Cheshire there is a hamlet of the same name, written differently; but as Northamptonshire has neither one nor the other within its borders a suspicion arises that the 'usual burying-place' to which Louis Boswell's relatives proposed to convey him may have been an unconsecrated spot. More probably though it was not, for, quite apart from uncertainty as to whether the funeral procession meant to go south at all, and doubt as to the existence in Northamptonshire of any common or waste land known as No Man's Heath (I can see none on the 1-inch Ordnance Survey maps), it must be remembered that Howitt's 'old beldame' claimed, and was perhaps justified in claiming, that most of the dead man's ancestors had been interred in churches. Besides, both the Boswells wintering at Birmingham in 1811-12, and the William Boss questioned by Goddard Johnson at East Dereham some ten years later, declared that burial in sanctified ground was the invariable rule in their families; with as much emphasis, I daresay, as members of the Derby Gypsyry put into similar declarations about the habits of their Boswell and Boss ancestors.

Lawrence Boswell's son, Moses, it is true, desired as he lay

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 279.

² According to the Rev. J. P. Hewitt, then rector of Norton Fitzwarren, in a letter, written to the *Standard* in all probability in August 1879, preserved in Leland's collection of newspaper cuttings in the British Museum (shelfmark, 1855 b. 18). On April 16, 1871, the writer buried there a Thomas Stanley, whose body was brought from a distance; and on the same day he christened two children, William and Fanny Stanley.

dying at Etwall to be buried under the fireplace of his camp ; but it was only a fleeting wish, inspired, it is generally supposed, by the remembrance of some tale he had heard, not about his Boswell forebears, but of his wife's people, the Herons ; nor was it carried out, for his remains lie in the village churchyard. It is likewise true that Borrow,¹ in describing the funeral of old Mrs. Herne, who, so far as she is not a lay figure, may be identified with Martha Boss, sister of the Peter who seems to have been at Birmingham in 1811-12, and probably of the William known to Goddard Johnson, says that her body was taken to a deep dell, and there interred beneath a rock. Yet, even if Borrow were adhering strictly to facts, this example of the private burial of a Boss is singularly poor evidence for its normal or common occurrence in the family, since his arch enemy hanged herself. Moreover, though the funeral arrangements are alleged to have been determined by the child, Leonora, 'who had heard her bebee say that she wished to be buried, not in gorgious fashion, but like a Roman woman of the old blood,' it is rather difficult to believe that the Herons, with whom she was travelling, did not have a voice in their ordering.

The words I have quoted, which clearly imply that pagan sepulture was formerly prevalent among Gypsies, are Jasper Petulengro's, and the presumption is, therefore, that in substance, if not in form, they were Ambrose Smith's. Borrow, it may be noted, does not comment on them ; nor, if I remember rightly, does he anywhere commit himself to the view afterwards put forward by Morwood,² Miss Janet Tuckey,³ and other writers even less qualified to express an opinion, that burial in unhallowed ground was once general among English Gypsies. But he may have held it nevertheless, for he could hardly know that from the sixteenth century onwards records of Gypsy interments occur in plenty in parish registers ; whilst his experience must have been very different from that of Groome,⁴ who, up to 1880, had 'never met a Gipsy whose forefathers to his knowledge had ever had other than decent Christian burial' ; or so it would seem from inquiries I made in East Anglia in 1909 among descendants of the Gypsies he knew most intimately.

¹ *Lavengro*, chap. lxxxi.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

³ In a note contributed to Leland, Palmer and Tuckey's *English-Gipsy Songs* (London, 1875), pp. 31-2.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

Genti Gray, a granddaughter in the female line of 'No Name' Heron, and a niece of the Piramus [Gray] mentioned in *The Romany Rye*, assured me that several of her mother's kin were buried 'up there on the Mussel,' meaning Mousehold Heath; and her nephew, Fred Gray, from the safe distance of twenty miles, subsequently offered to show me two of the graves, lying, he said, in a hollow screened by gorse, on that part of the heath farthest from the barracks. Kadilia Brown, a Heron in the male line, and in the female a granddaughter of Ambrose Smith's sister, Laini, the prototype of Ursula Herne, I believe, would not hear of Christian sepulture among her ancestors. 'Bury in churchyards!' she exclaimed. 'Not they! They was too a-traś to go nigh 'em. No: they'd just dig a grave thersel's, and bury the poor things there where they died, on some bit o' common, or down an owld lane.' Her cousins, Katie Smith and Adelaide Lee, whose mother, Lovinia, was Ambrose's daughter, were equally sure that the Smiths and Herons of an earlier day had no dealings with gorgios when a death occurred among them. It was kept secret, they declared, sometimes from relatives even, until after the body had been disposed of, as quickly as might be, in a ditch, or on some little frequented heath; and again fear, this time of strangers handling the corpse, was given as the motive. On a later occasion they differentiated between Smiths and Herons, crediting their ancestors with an earlier abandonment of the custom; and Adelaide, as if to illustrate the point, related how, about 1830, Ambrose came upon an aged Heron, doubtfully identified as Richard or 'No Name,' in the act of burying his wife in a ditch near Gorleston; and how, from fear of further trouble befalling the old man, he took the body away, and had it interred in a neighbouring churchyard. Finally, Matilda Pinfold, who was acquainted with Borrow during his residence at Oulton, and, I may remark, at enmity with the Smiths and Browns (or Herons), accused these two families of burying their dead by the roadside, and round about their encampments, until, at the beginning of her long life, the rural constables and Bow Street runners combined to 'stop their ancivilised ways.'

Iza, Saiki, and Esau of the northern Herons and Youngs were as ready to admit the prevalence of unofficial burials among their Heron ancestors as were Kadilia Brown and Genti Gray; and from what the Derby Boswells say it is clear that Trënit and Rôdi Heron, who married respectively Moses Boswell and his son,

Nathan, used to speak of such interments as not uncommon in their own family. There should then, if traditional evidence is ever reliable, be very few Heron burials in the collection of Gypsy entries in parish registers compiled by Mr. Winstedt and others. Nor is the number large. Indeed, from 1650, when on April 26 'Susanna Heyron daughter of Peter Heyron one of the Gipsies' was baptized at Killington, then a chapelry of Kirkby Lonsdale, to 1830, the year before 'No Name' Heron's interment at Tetford, Lincolnshire, no more than one appears in the list—that of 'Mrs. Hearn a Gypsy Queene,' at Stanbridge, Bedfordshire, in 1691.¹ And she, of course, need not have belonged to the family by birth, nor have adhered to it after her marriage; whilst 'his majesty's' failure to provide a shroud or winding sheet of woollen cloth, in consequence of which he was distrained upon, 'but no distress to be found,' may imply that he possessed so little experience of ordinary burials as to be ignorant of a law relating to them already twelve years old.

Besides this solitary instance of Christian sepulture among the earlier Herons, it only remains to notice the much-quoted burial of 'Francis Heron, King of the Faws,' at Jarrow, or less probably Hartlepool, in 1756,² which, according to official information supplied to Mr. Hall, is not entered in the registers of either place; and to glance at a side issue of the fifty-year-old controversy as to the precise age attained by Elizabeth Leatherlund, *née* Hearn, who shortly before her death in 1875 sought to identify herself with the 'Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Horam, traveller,' baptized at Chinnor, Oxfordshire, in 1763. In my opinion she failed to do this; but she may, nevertheless, have been born at Chinnor, and her mother, the gorgio wife of a Thomas Hearn, may, as she claimed, have died there in childbed. If so, the registers cannot be quoted as evidence for her burial; an inconvenient fact Betsy proceeded to discount by declaring that her mother, though dying at Chinnor, was not interred there, and that she did not know where the funeral took place, since her father would never say.³ With this very unsatisfactory statement the curious must

¹ Groome, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

² Sir C. Sharpe, *Chronicon Mirabile* (London, 1841), p. 6, seems to be the ultimate authority. He gives Jarrow as the burial-place; and the assumption that it was Hartlepool is probably mistaken.

³ Sir Duncan Gibb, *Ultra Centenarian Longevity* (London, 1875), p. 7. This paper was reprinted from the July 1875 issue of the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*. Cf. *Times*, August 10, 15, 22, 24, 1874, and January 25, 27, 29, 1875.

still rest content, for Mr. Winstedt, after examining Bishops' Transcripts of the registers of a great many parishes in the Oxford diocese, has failed to discover the site of her grave.

Parsons and clerks did not, of course, always fulfil their statutory duties in the matter of register entries, and consequently no safe inference can be drawn from the absence of any particular one. (Otherwise Richard Heron, who died somewhat later than 1830, must surely lie in an unhallowed grave at Haslingfield, near Cambridge, for the registers do not bear witness to his interment there, though it is vouched for by so reliable an authority as his grandson, Wester Boswell.) But when, after much searching of parochial records, we find only one Heron burial entered during the 180 years following the earliest known mention of the family, and compare it with the eight certain, or virtually certain, examples of Herons marrying at church within the same period, remembering how much commoner Christian sepulture was than Christian marriage among English Gypsies in general, it seems to me we have evidence of perceptible weight in support of the tradition that the Herons objected to churchyards as burial-grounds; and, incidentally, some proof of their not being too afraid to go near them on other occasions.

In certain respects the East Anglian Smiths resembled the Herons in their behaviour in the presence of death, but the tradition that they, too, preferred self-conducted interments is none too strong, and I cannot strengthen it in any way. Certainly three independent witnesses, including his son, Lazy,¹ and nephew, Sant, have declared that Elijah Buckley, a brother-in-law of Ambrose Smith, and so presumably a member of his 'clan,' was buried furtively under a tree somewhere along the southern margin of Epping Forest; but he was killed by 'Gypsy' Stephens during a fight,² and many old-fashioned Gypsies like Ambrose Smith held that affrays among themselves, even if they resulted in manslaughter, were no concern of gorgios, from whom they should be concealed if it was necessary and possible. In *No. 747*³ one of Way's characters cites an instance of burial in unconsecrated

¹ Interviewed by Mr. Myers.

² Some particulars were given in the *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 165. It appears now that the date of the occurrence was somewhat later than 1833; that 'Gypsy' Stephens, who had a crown and anchor booth, travelled at times with Ambrose Smith and his people; and that the hushing up of the affair was agreed to by all concerned.

³ P. 110.

ground, and in Epping Forest again, where a not dissimilar motive seems to have operated, the unfortunate man being an alleged second son of 'Fighting' Jack Cooper, whose brother, Tom, married Ambrose Smith's sister, Laini. 'Dookey, poor chap,' he says, 'used to take on these here apoleptic fits, and at last it weren't safe for to leave him, so Sol or Patience used always to bide along of him, one or t'other of 'em. One day, as bad luck would have it, they was both of 'em away together, and when they come back they finds the poor, dear man lyin' right across the fire, and one side of him burnt all to cinders. So they buried him there, close to the Rising Sun, on the Bellevue estate,' which is near Wood-street.

Incidents such as these are no better evidence for burial in unsanctified ground as a normal habit than the private interment of suicides, or the practice attributed to another of Way's characters of burying unbaptized infants with his own hands.¹ Yet if any whisper of them came to gorgio ears it might, no less than rumours of other interments outside God's acre, lead to indiscriminate accusations. 'Ther's no compass to the lies gorgios 'll make up about *Romaniçals*,' Lias Boswell declared when I told him how certain Brassington people had said that his distant kinsman, Aaron Boswell, was buried in the lane called Gallow-low where he died, though one of the oldest inhabitants of the village clearly recollected his interment in the churchyard, to which the registers bear witness in an entry dated June 1, 1848. And indeed, even if village gossips do not often lie deliberately when speaking of Gypsy practices, they are apt to make false deductions from ill-ascertained facts, confuse the particular and the general, and connect unrelated things; so that credentials must be examined, and statements scrutinised and tested, if the truth is to be ascertained.

This is so with regard to the allegations published by John E. Cussans in 1869² to the effect that for many years Shaws, Grays, and Dymocks 'interred in a field belonging to Mr. Nehemiah Parry, a farmer residing at Strett Hall, four miles from Saffron Walden,' and not uncommonly by the roadside as well; for the writer was not familiar with the district, or, although he might inadvertently have converted Perry into Parry, he would hardly

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 164-5.

² *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vol. iii. (1869), p. 462 (quoted by Groome, *op. cit.*, p. 123).

have described Mr. Nehemiah Perry as a farmer when in truth he was lord of a manor as old as Doomsday, and the owner of a small estate; nor can his informant, a shepherd residing at Stanstead Abbots, near Hertford, have been a native of Strethall, or even well acquainted with it, I should judge, as he seems to have departed from local usage in not according Mr. Perry the title of 'Squire.'

Maybe, then, his views on what happened at Strethall are of little worth; a possibility that becomes a certainty almost when they are compared with the statements made by well-informed residents. The earliest of these were summed up in a letter addressed to Groome¹ by the then rector of Strethall as long ago as 1880. 'No one,' he says, 'has the slightest recollection of Gipsies being buried within the parish. Skeletons have been dug up at various times, the last about thirty years ago; but whether they were Gipsies or not it is impossible to say, as no one seems to know anything about them, and there is no record of Gipsies coming to visit the graves.' Continuing, he remarks that 'the last Nehemiah Parry [*sic*], who died in 1861, married a Gipsy young woman, one of the Shaws'; an interesting piece of information, but no proof, of course, that he allowed any field of his to be used as a cemetery by his wife's friends. Of three more recent investigations, all equally unsuccessful in obtaining support for the story of alleged irregular interments, the only one worth mentioning at length is the last, which was carried out a few months ago by the Rev. E. E. Edgerley, at present rector of Strethall, and vicar of the neighbouring parish of Littlebury. 'At neither place,' writes Mr. Edgerley, 'can I hear of any traditions of Gypsies burying their dead on Mr. Perry's land, or by the roadside. Nor, so far as I can see, are there any Shaws, Grays, or Dymocks in the Strethall registers, though Mr. Perry and his wife, whose maiden name was Sarah Shaw, had a son, Thomas, christened there in 1831, and an eighteen year old daughter buried in the churchyard many years later. . . . At the top of one field in the village, you may like to know, there still exist some mounds, said to be graves, but no one I have asked connects them with Gypsies.'

Even had the results of these fully competent inquiries resulted differently, I should still have doubted the truth of the allegations made, for the best Gypsy authorities Mr. Hall and I were able to consult some fifteen or sixteen years ago—Rodney Shaw, by his

¹ And printed by him, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

own account a nephew of Mrs. Perry; Reuben Brinkley, who counted her his father's cousin; and two descendants of the Grays who associated with Shaws in Cambridgeshire and thereabouts, namely Alice, the nonagenarian daughter of 'Cockpot,' and Elias, whose paternal grandparents, Israel and Maria, were respectively brother and niece to this oddly-named worthy—were one and all of them convinced that neither Shaws nor Grays ever interred their dead in unhallowed graves at Strethall, or anywhere else. And as for the mysterious Dymocks, they must, I think, have been half-bloods belonging to one or other of these families. If not, will some one kindly inform me who and what they were?

Though discredited on all counts, then, this story of irregular Gypsy interments at Strethall may, nevertheless, have some very slight foundation in fact, or at least an explicable origin. For Cussans, relying now on a labourer for his information, goes on to say that the Gypsy woman whose body was seen 'swathed in cloths' and laid out 'on trestles' at Littlebury about 1830 was afterwards interred uncoffined in the churchyard there, 'by order of the local authorities; not, however, without great opposition on the part of the deceased's friends, who wished to bury her elsewhere'; and possibly did so after all, without clerical assistance perchance, as no record of the interment is to be found in the registers of either Littlebury or Strethall. Whether or not, official intervention in the matter, coupled with the survivors' objection to Littlebury churchyard as a burial-ground—if these may be accepted as true—would almost certainly give rise to gossip, which might easily become, and for a time remain, entangled with baseless inferences about the bones dug up in Strethall parish, the mounds in a field there commonly said to be graves, and Mr. Perry's strange partiality for Gypsies. Granted so much, and further, that the shepherd of Stanstead Abbots chanced to be living in the neighbourhood just then, and for a brief while, the discrepancy between his story of unorthodox Gypsy burials at Strethall, and the unanimous denials of their occurrence obtained by successive rectors from old inhabitants of the place, becomes understandable, if nothing else.

The venue may now be changed to Buckinghamshire and its borders, where, according to an article that appeared in the *Bucks Herald* on September 27, 1890, a number of Gypsy graves are to be found in unsanctified ground. In Carter's Lane, Quanton, we are told, there was, and probably still is, a stone lying in a ditch, marking the burial-place of a Gypsy 'king,' and having on one

side the date 1641, and on the other some letters 'rudely carved'; whilst a 'similar memorial' to a Gypsy interred outside a churchyard is said to exist in a lane between Sympson and Fenny Stratford. A third Gypsy grave in a lane, called Mursley after the parish in which it lies, is also mentioned; and then, with a pleasing attention to detail, the interment in Towersey Field in 1822 of Joseph and Roger Buckland, whose bodies were 'wrapped up in Whitney blankets, as gipsies do not bury in coffins.'

It may be acknowledged at once that these allegations are discriminate; that Buckinghamshire was formerly a centre for Herons, who have traditions of the former occurrence of unofficial interments in their family, as well as for Bucklands, Smiths, and Drapers, who are not known to possess any; that twenty years ago some of the aged inhabitants of Mursley spoke of a Gypsy grave in Mursley Lane, once a favourite *acing tan*; and that at Quainton, according to the rector, the Rev. P. F. L. Cautley, nearly all the older people believe the stone in Carter's Lane, another well-used camping-place in earlier days, to be a memorial to a Gypsy 'king' who died and was buried there. 'The stone,' says Mr. Cautley, 'has recently been raised from the ditch, and placed in a more conspicuous position. It bears on the top the date 1641, the 4 being reversed as is often the case in old figuring; but I could discover no letters on the back, and never remember seeing any during the thirty-three years I have known the stone. On the front, however, I should say there have been some, though I cannot be sure.'

Yet, notwithstanding these acknowledgments, it is doubtful whether any one of the claims made should be admitted as evidence for the interment of Gypsies in unconsecrated ground. Local support is obviously of little avail in the Quainton case, where the date of the alleged burial is as remote as the year before the Civil War began; and at Mursley it is weak in that no mention has yet been made of anything save the bare existence of the grave. And these are the less disputable claims; for about the Towersey burials village opinion is divided, some of the older folks maintaining that there are no Gypsy graves in Towersey Field, a view partially supported by an entry in the church registers recording, without special comment, the interment of Roger Buckland, a traveller and poor, on June 14, 1812; whilst the Gypsy memorial in the lane connecting Sympson and Fenny Stratford never existed, according to a septuagenarian

born and bred at the former place, and accepted as an authority on its traditions. True, there used to be a grave mound in the lane, readily visible because carefully tended by the parish roadman until, about forty to fifty years ago, a way-warden with a squeamish wife had it levelled away to please her; but it marked the burial-place of a soldier enlisted from a not very distant village during the Napoleonic wars. His regiment, so the story runs, happened to be passing through, or near, his native place, and he was granted permission to fall out to visit his family and friends, with whom he over-stayed his leave. Still hoping to rejoin his column in time to avert serious punishment, he lashed his horse into a furious gallop; but it was a vain hope, as he realized on reaching Sympson, and so, in terror and despair, he committed suicide. And next day the villagers buried his body where they found it, on the road to Fenny Stratford, just beyond an enclosure known as the Cowpasture.¹

Apart from the supposed burial of a Lee or Boswell woman on West Hill, Darrington, Yorkshire, in or about 1875, which is vouched for by a correspondent who was a boy in Darrington at the time, but dismissed as fictitious by an aged and life-long inhabitant of the place generally regarded as an authority on past happenings there,² I am not aware of any further evidence for pagan sepulture among English Gypsies that is worth considering, however briefly. But before passing on to possible reasons why the Herons, and more doubtfully the East Anglian Smiths, should have avoided churchyard interments, and why other Gypsies may have practised private burial on rare occasions, and under special circumstances, I had better point out that prior to the publication of *Lavengro* in 1851 very little seems to have been heard of sepulture in unsanctified ground as a Gypsy custom in this country. 'A Southern Faunist,' who wrote several letters on Gypsies to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1801-2, certainly entertained the idea;³ and the *rašai* who interviewed a party of Boswells at Birmingham in 1811-12, like Goddard Johnson when he met William Boss at East Dereham about ten years later, thought it worth while to ask where Gypsies

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. J. T. Lawson, rector of Sympson, for obtaining this information for me. The writer of the notes he forwarded to me wishes to remain anonymous.

² Canon H. S. Atkinson, Vicar of Darrington, very kindly made inquiries in his parish, from the aged inhabitant mentioned, among others.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxii (1802), p. 484.

usually interred their dead ; whilst Thomas Miller of Gainsborough disposed of the Gypsy villain of his novel, *Gideon Giles the Roper*,¹ which appeared in 1841, by burying him 'on the heath, beneath the blasted tree that hangs, blackened and withered, over the grave of his first wife.' But this is very little to set against the silence of Hoyland, Crabb, Roberts, and Simson, and the better known pamphleteers.

John Roberts, the harpist, according to Charlie Wood, who lived with him for several years, used to tell a curious story of the death of his great-grandfather, Abram, the first of the Welsh Woods. The old man, it appears, was travelling with some of his family along the mountain road from Llwynguril to Towyn, when, about a mile and a half from the former place, he was taken ill and died with great suddenness. His companions thereupon fled from the scene in abject terror, leaving his body on the hillside, exposed and unattended ; and though subsequently they returned to bury it, in a nearby graveyard long since disused, they had to be compelled, or at least persuaded, to do so. No similar story of Herons or East Anglian Smiths fleeing from their dead has come to light, but they, too, were unusually fear-stricken in the presence of death, if their Norfolk descendants may be believed ; and on this account alone they might sometimes have thought it a lesser evil to inter the body hastily with their own hands than to await the time when it could be buried in a churchyard. Katie Smith and Adelaide Lee spoke of private interments being conducted as quickly as possible, the latter declaring that the Heron who was surprised in the act of burying his wife in a ditch near Gorleston about 1830 did not intend to do more than cover her with leaves and grass ; and it would not be wise to assume that fear of being meddled with by persons in authority was the sole incentive to haste.

Less speculative, however, as a motive for self-conducted interments among the Herons and East Anglian Smiths is their avowed objection to gorgios handling, or even touching, their dead ; which may have rested ultimately, like their peculiar practices of secreting corpses, and dressing up to die, on the callous way in which the funerals of the poor were sometimes conducted, though far more probably it, and they, had a superstitious basis. About fear of graveyards I feel much less certain, for whilst Kadilia Brown spoke of her ancestors being

¹ P. 440.

'too a-traß to go nigh 'em,' and Adelaide Lee of hers making detours to avoid passing them when travelling, the relatively large number of Heron marriages at church between 1650 and 1830 already discovered in parish registers hardly permits of the assumption that dread of cemeteries was at all general, though it may, of course, have been common enough to account for a number of private burials.

Untoward circumstances that possibly led to Gypsies of any family or 'clan' interring occasionally in unsanctified ground are readily envisaged: use of a parish shell, for example, which some of them must have viewed with horror; inability to secure the services of a parson willing to bury a non-parishioner in the days when idle living was common among them; clerical prejudice against interring Gypsies at church, based on the false assumption that they were unbaptized heathen; objection to Gypsy victims of smallpox and other plagues being brought into the village; a desire on the survivors' part to keep the death secret because of the manner of its occurrence, or to avoid observation themselves from fear of arrest for a crime committed in the neighbourhood; and dread of the corpse being stolen by resurrection men, to which, perhaps, some considerable importance should be attached, since Gypsies were not accused of burying their dead in unhallowed graves, if our present information is complete, until body-snatching had become prevalent.

VIII

When Louis Boswell's relatives consigned his tent and surplus clothes to the flames, buried in a hole such possessions of his as could not be burned, and sold his two pack donkeys and favourite saddle horse to gorgios, they were observing what is at once the most characteristic and the best attested of English Gypsy funeral rites. In 1769, following the burial of a Gypsy woman at Tring, Buckinghamshire, 'the survivors took all her wearing apparel and burnt them, including silk gowns, silver buckles, gold ear-rings, trinkets, etc., for such is their custom.'¹ Four years later 'the cloaths of the late Diana Boswell, Queen of the Gypsies, value £50, were burnt in the middle of the Mint, Southwark, by her principal courtiers, according to ancient custom.'² After Absolom

¹ Hone's *Table Book* for June 1827 (quotation from a ms. journal for the year 1769).

² *Annual Register*, vol. xvi. (1773), pp. 142-3 (quoted by Groome, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17).

Smith's funeral at Twyford, Leicestershire, in 1826, if traditional accounts of it are reliable, his tent, bedding, panniers, and fiddle were reduced to ashes. And subsequent to Constance Smith's at Highworth, in 1830, 'the whole of her wardrobe was burnt, and her donkey and dog were slaughtered by her nearest relatives, in conformity to a custom remaining among her tribe.'

Crabb,¹ writing about this date, says that the Gypsies 'have a singular custom of burning all the clothes belonging to anyone among them deceased, with the straw, litter, etc., of his tent'; but on another page he declares, somewhat surprisingly, that 'their attachment to the horse, donkey, rings, snuff-box, silver spoons, and all things, except the clothes, of the[ir] deceased relatives, is very strong. With such articles they will never part, except in the greatest distress; and then they only pledge some of them, *which are redeemed as soon as they possess the means.*'

Whatever Hampshire Gypsies may have done (and no doubt Crabb's information is substantially accurate), Shūrensi Smith, Riley Boss's last remaining wife, and a goodly number of his relatives, having buried him decently in Brompton churchyard, made their way back to Notting Hill, 'not to divide his property amongst them,' says Borrow,² ' . . . but to destroy it. They killed his swift pony—still swift, though twenty-seven years of age—and buried it deep in the ground, without depriving it of its skin. Then they broke the caravan and cart to pieces, making of the fragments a fire, on which they thrēw his bedding, carpets, curtains, blankets, and everything which would burn. Finally, they dashed his mirrors, china, and crockery to pieces, hacked his metal pots, dishes and what-not to bits, and flung the whole on the blazing pile.' All save two small copper cauldrons, if Borrow may be corrected, for these, which were Riley's own handiwork, Shūri insisted on keeping in memory of her *rom*, according to her Hull grandchildren, in whose possession they still rest.³ And when the fire had died down, said Robert Smith, who was Shūri's nephew and an interested spectator, the remains were collected and buried furtively at nightfall; but as gorgios heard there was silver among them, and began rooting about in search of it, they were dug up again, and flung into a deep pit of water at some distance from the 'Arches.'

Riley Boss died somewhere near the middle of the nineteenth

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29.

² *Romano Lavo-Lil*, chapter on Ryley Bosvil.

³ Communicated by Mr. Hall.

century. About the same time, apparently, the funeral pyre of a Gypsy, conjecturally identified as Henry Lock, was raised in one of the counties through which the Severn runs, Worcestershire most probably. 'First they burnt his fiddle,' 'Cuthbert Bede' was informed by an eye-witness; 'and then they burnt a lot of beautiful Whitney blankets, as were as good as new; and then they burnt a sight of books—for he was quite a scholar . . .; and then there was his grindstun, . . . they couldn't burn *him*! so they carried him two miles, and then hove him right into Siv'un; that's true, you may take my word for it, sir; for I was one as helped 'em to carry it.'¹

The Locks, like the Bosses, were Boswells before they changed their name, but as the Aaron Boswell interred at Long Whatton, Leicestershire, in 1866, belonged to a different branch of the family, it will not be superfluous to record that on the morning after his funeral his clothes, bedding, tent, cart, grinding barrow, and harness were burned; and his crockery and iron pans pounded to fragments, and then buried in the earth, together with two copper kettles previously battered out of shape, some pewter jugs and plates which were first hacked to pieces, and a quantity of cutlery, forks, spoons, and tools; whilst his horses and donkeys were dispatched to Nottingham for sale, in charge of a man who did not belong to the family, but had been appointed by them to dispose of animals, and of things like the iron tyres of the cart wheels that could not be made away with at all easily. He was employed because the mourners themselves might sell nothing, according to Caroline Boswell, Aaron's granddaughter, who also insisted that any article touched by a dying man shortly before he expired must be destroyed, whether it was his own property or not.

Funeral sacrifices occurring in the seventies and eighties need not be mentioned now, but three in the following decade clearly call for notice. In 1894, on the day of Oli Heron's funeral at Withernsea, his widow, Wasti Young, having removed her personal belongings from their living-waggon, had it taken down to the seashore, where, early next morning, and as the tide was rising, some of her kinsfolk set it alight. Towards evening, by which time the ashes of the fire had been carried away on the ebb, they returned to the incombustible wreckage, to break up the iron

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vol. iii. (1857), p. 442 (quoted by Groome, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-3).

stove and pans, and any crockery or glass unshivered by the heat, and to cart the refuse into the sea when the water was at its lowest. A year or two later, after the death of Ambrose Smith's daughter, Lovinia, in a house at Yarmouth, her clothes and bedding, and what little furniture she possessed, were burned on the fore-shore just beyond the north end of the town; and her jewellery, the fragments of a tea-service valued at £10, some broken or battered domestic utensils, the remains of an iron bedstead, and the carcase of a pet dog poisoned by the survivors, were rowed out to sea more than a mile, and then thrown overboard. Again, in January 1899, no sooner had the mourners returned from Savaina Lovell's funeral at Longmoor Lane Cemetery, Liverpool, than they proceeded to break up her crockery, and beat her silver teapot, tray, sugar-basin, and spoons into shapeless masses, as a preliminary to filling them, and her jewellery, into two or three small sacks, which were unobtrusively dropped into the Mersey from one of the ferry boats later in the evening; but her clothes and blankets were not destroyed until some days afterwards, when her husband, Bui Boswell, who represents yet another branch of this great family, and those of the funeral party who had accompanied him to Jackson's Bridge, near Ormskirk, made a fire of them, close to a canal, on the surface of which they strewed the ashes.

Since 1900 there have been almost a dozen funeral destructions of which particulars are known, though no more than two can be selected for full description here. At 5.30 A.M. on the morning of February 25, 1911, the day after Isaac Heron's burial at Manston, his son, Īza, by arrangement with the blacksmith at Sutton-on-Trent, brought the old man's waggon onto a bare patch of garden behind the smithy. He next removed the shafts and wheels, and placed them, together with the harness, inside the van, which already contained a quantity of bedding, some old clothes, a hat, a pair of boots, and several small articles in a sack; and then, having thrust straw inside as well, and saturated it with paraffin, he applied a light. Villagers, attracted by the blaze, crowded round the scene in considerable numbers; and one woman begged persistently, but in vain, for permission to take away a charred spindle as a memento. When the fire had burned itself out, the ashes were strewn about the garden, and the scrap iron given to the blacksmith, whilst Īza himself, for reasons that have never been ascertained, kept the hub caps and some hooks. Having disposed of combustible property, he now broke up the stove,

crockery, and iron pans previously removed from the waggon, and buried the fragments deep in the ground. The horse he took away with him on leaving for Doncaster, where he sold it—to a slaughterer in all probability.

In September of the same year, Crimea, the four-year-old son of Cornelius and Lucina Price, accidentally set himself on fire during the absence of his parents, who were hop-picking near Dormington in Herefordshire, and was so badly injured that he died in hospital next day. When news of his death was brought to the camp, 'members of the family took their living-van, which cost £80 to build, into the centre of the field, and there amid much grief they broke it to pieces with axes, and making a funeral pyre of parts of the vehicle, set it alight and burnt it to ashes.'¹ A few years previously, it is said, a party of Smiths stopping on Norton Common, near Weobley, which is another of the Herefordshire hopping centres, broke up their van and burned it on the death of a child.² But such English Gypsies as I have asked all declare that when children die it is not customary to destroy anything beyond their clothes, and perhaps a few articles of trifling value intimately associated with them; whilst the modern German Gypsy rule vouched for by Wittich,³ which enjoins the destruction of a dead person's belongings, the van in which death took place, and everything it contained at the time, only applies, he states, to the decease of adult members of the community.

These Herefordshire holocausts are the more remarkable in that the travelling Prices, of whom Lucina is one in addition to Cornelius, originated in the marriage of Helen Ingram to a gorgio named Henry Price, since when very little good Gypsy blood has entered the family; and from the Smiths concerned in the earlier of them being reputed descendants of Margery Lock, whose husband, Elijah Smith, was a half-breed or less. Such families, it seems, occasionally cling to the destructive side of Gypsy funeral ritual more tenaciously than might be expected. On the death, near Madeley in Cheshire in 1898, of Vernon, son of Edward (*alias* Richard) Taylor, an itinerant barber who married Margery Lock's sister, Lucy, his widow, Kōdi Jones, not a thoroughbred Gypsy by

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 80 (from the *Hereford Journal*, September 23, 1911).

² Communicated by Mrs. E. L. Leather of Weobley.

³ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 48-9, and *Blicke in das Leben der Zigeuner* (Striegau, 1911), p. 29.

any means, burned his waggon, and ridded herself of his other property; and when Kōdi, herself died, on Sound Heath, near Wrenbury, in the same county, no longer ago than 1921, her sons set fire to her caravan, and broke up and buried her crockery and pans. Among Lincolnshire mixed stocks, too, vans have been destroyed on their owner's demise—Frank Elliot's, for example, in 1913.¹ But Scottish tinklers, and the North Country potters or muggers of similar origin, apparently do not make extensive sacrifices, if any at all, in these latter days, though the families settled at Kirk Yetholm used to burn the clothes of their dead, according to a writer in *Blackwood* quoted by Sir Walter Scott;² and so did the Cumberland Stewarts, even within the memory of a William Stewart who was barely sixty when I saw him in 1913; whilst in 1871 or 1872 a relative of mine residing near Windermere witnessed the burning of some clothes and bedding belonging to a member of the Miller family who died close to his house.

IX

The provenance of Gypsy rites is never easy to determine with any exactitude, even in a small area, but when Liebich,³ writing of the German *Sinte* rather more than sixty years ago, declared it to be their custom to burn a dead man's clothes and bedding, and what had served him for lodging or roof, he might equally well, I think, have been generalising about English *Romane*, who were, of course, mostly tent-dwellers then. In all the better families, except perhaps the Woods, who apparently abandoned funeral sacrifices on becoming Roman Catholics, and in some at least of those already permeated with gorgio blood, it seems to have been an invariable rule that wearing apparel not enclosed in the coffin should be destroyed. Indeed, I cannot quote a parallel, early or late, to the strange behaviour of Coralina Loveridge, *née* Boswell, of Banbury, in retaining as a keepsake a red cloak belonging to her dead sister-in-law, Alice, wife of Joshua Loveridge,⁴ nor point to a single instance of a deceased Gypsy's clothing being worn by his surviving relatives, or sold to gorgios. The destruction of bedding, merely a shake-down of straw or hay in many instances, was hardly less general by all accounts. And if some southern Gypsies, including the Kentish Lees, as well as the more 'gorgiofied' Lovells and Hearnss who were in and about London a good

¹ Communicated by Mr. Hall.² *Guy Mannering*, note iv.³ *Op. cit.*, p. 55.⁴ Communicated by Mr. Winstedt.

deal, often preserved the 'death-tent' for future use, as Crabb's Hampshire friends apparently did on every occasion, its burning was a regular feature of the funeral rites of most of the families or 'clans' whose special territory was the eastern, northern, and Midland counties, the Welsh border, and Wales.

With regard to other property there has, undoubtedly, been a greater diversity of usage. The introduction of costly caravans in place of tents raised a new problem among those Gypsies who were accustomed to destroying the 'death-tent,' and not unnaturally its solution has been largely determined by extraneous circumstances. Still, a rough correspondence is noticeable between the families given to burning tents, either habitually or commonly, and those in which destruction of caravans is known to have occurred, for the latter include northern Herons (and Youngs), Boswells, Bosses, Grays, and Lovells, belonging for the most part to the 'No-Name' Heron-Taiso Boswell 'clan'; East Anglian Smiths and Browns (if tilt-carts may be reckoned the equivalent of living-waggon), Cambridgeshire Shaws, and Lincolnshire Grays and Elliots; Bucklands, Birmingham Smiths, Yorkshire Smiths of Midland origin, and descendants of Elijah Boswell and his Northamptonshire Smith wives; and the Herons, Lees, Prices, Locks, and Taylors of Wales and the counties bordering on it.¹ In none of these families, however, can the burning of waggon be described as really common; whilst among the Midland Smiths and their offshoots, the Lincolnshire Grays and Elliots, the Shaws, and the Lovells it seems to have been rare, though with them, as in a good many other families, it has not been unusual to sell a waggon in which some one has died.² Among purely southern Gypsies I have yet to hear of one being destroyed on the death of its owner, or a member of his family; and I am all the more surprised, therefore, to find a ballad in Leland, Palmer, and Tuckey's song-book³ which describes the burning of a waggon he had obtained in readiness for his marriage by a Gypsy youth who was jilted by his sweetheart. As he had not paid for it, perhaps the story is too good to be true.

¹ Here, and in certain other enumerations of families, I have utilised information supplied by Mr. Hall and Mr. Myers.

² As a rule Gypsies will not buy a dead man's caravan, and a gorgio purchaser, who often makes a very good bargain, has to be found. Abraham Buckland's waggon, for instance, were sold to a gorgio at a really low price following his death in 1923.

³ Pp. 68-9.

Domestic equipment—chairs are specifically mentioned in an account of a holocaust at Aston, Birmingham, in 1873¹—and more particularly things used in preparing and partaking of meals, have been destroyed oftener than living-waggon in recent years. On the death of Josiah Boswell's widow, Betsy Boss, for example, at Callendar Riggs, near Falkirk, in 1902, her crockery, cutlery, pans, bowls, and buckets, a solid silver George III. tea-service, and some antique china, were broken up or battered out of shape, but her van is still on the roads, or was a very few years ago.² I doubt, however, whether such sacrifices are quite common enough to be described as customary, even among the stricter adherents to Gypsy funeral ritual; and suspect that the need for them was not always recognised in the past by some of the families which rarely, if ever, preserved the 'death-tent.' Yet a girl of eighteen once remarked to me, what a scandal it was that Isaac Heron, who burned his waggon on the death of his wife, Sinfaï Gray, at Darlington, in 1907, and demolished its entire contents except for some silverware, should have sold this to a jeweller to be melted down, and then have left the shop 'without seeing as the gorgio man done it!'

The treasuring of a deceased relative's private and personal belongings, other than his clothes, by the New Forest Stanleys and Lees with whom Crabb was acquainted has already been noticed.³ In keeping with it are two clauses of a draft will in Wester Boswell's 'Memberandum Book' requesting that his watch, which came to him on the death of his father, Taiso, in 1831, and an 'Emartis [Amatis] fiddle' he had purchased at Colchester in 1861, should be kept in the family as long as it continued.⁴ It may be recalled, too, not irrelevantly, that Edward Boswell, Aaron's cousin and father-in-law, made a death-bed presentation

¹ Smart and Crofton, *op. cit.*, p. 203 (from the *Catholic Times*, Dec. 13, 1873).

² *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., i. 366; *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, vol. xii. (1903), p. 428; and information from Taimi Boswell. Betsy's van when I last heard of it was in the possession of some *pos-rats*, who had it from the original buyer, a gorgio showman.

³ A Lee man whom Mr. Winstedt saw recently on Epsom Downs said that in his family it was usual to keep some little thing in memory of the dead, but this practice, with which we may compare Shūrensi Smith's retention of two small copper pots made by her husband, and Īza Heron's saving of the hub caps and a few hooks from his father's waggon, is, of course, entirely different from the one mentioned by Crabb.

⁴ *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 245, where it is stated that the fiddle passed into other hands. On Wester's death his son, Kenza, threw his incombustible property, 'including jewellery and gold watches and chains,' into the Mersey (R. A. Scott Macfie, *The Romanichels*, Liverpool, 1909, p. 52).

to the Rev. John Russell, who had taken a sensible and kindly interest in him, of his rat-catcher's belt, and a 'silver Spanish coin, Temp. Car. III. Rex Hispaniae,' which he had long worn as a charm;¹ and that certain relatives of Moses Boswell's wife, Saiëra Buckland, obtained from him, and probably sold, a pair of diamond-studded shoe-buckles of which she died possessed.²

Nevertheless, variations in the manner of dealing with purely personal effects (besides clothes) have arisen less from their preservation, regularly in a few families but occasionally in most, than from a difference of opinion as to whether it was preferable to inter them with the corpse, a by no means uncommon practice, or to make away with them immediately after the funeral, which seems to have been the more generally favoured procedure. Even to-day the thought of retaining them, or anything else connected intimately and personally with a deceased relative, is abhorrent to a very large number of English Gypsies. Adelaide Lee was horror-stricken on discovering some time after the death of her mother, Lovinia Smith, at Yarmouth in the nineties, that one or two small valuables belonging to her had been preserved through forgetfulness. She found them in one of her own drawers, and, though anxious to be rid of them, she was too afraid to effect their removal; so she locked up the drawer, and then threw the key away. It had never since been opened, she said, when telling me of the occurrence at Luton in 1911; in a conversation that began with scared references to a couple of hatpins she had just noticed on a high ledge in her lodgings, and connected, rightly or wrongly, with a deceased member of her landlady's family. In the same year, when I was visiting a party of Locks at Beaumaris, Rabbi's widow, Sübi Lee, asked me to read a letter she had just received from her son, Joe, and his wife, Dora Taylor, who were then at Birkenhead. It was to say that a child of theirs had accidentally set its clothes on fire, and died as a result of the burns. And would she, they begged, destroy its photograph at once, and send word to Annie, Noah Lock's wife, and Limi, Dora's sister, who was then married to Finiman Lock, telling them to destroy the ones they had as soon as they heard the news. This Sübi did, messengers being dispatched to Bodorgan and Holyhead the same evening.

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 319 (from a *Memoir of the Rev. John Russell*, new ed., London and Exeter, 1902, p. 195).

² *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, ii. 118.

Slaughtering animals on the death of their owner has been far less frequent among English Gypsies than the destruction of inanimate possessions; but to the three instances of it cited in preceding paragraphs a number of others can be added. After the burial of Aaron Lee at Wrenbury, Cheshire, in 1869, his van-horse was shot, and possibly two more besides, by order of his widow, Lipi Boswell, a daughter of Major. On the death of a Gypsy whose identity has not been disclosed, at Cheadle, near Manchester, in the early seventies, presumably, as Smart and Crofton refer to the event in their *Dialect of the English Gypsies*¹ published in 1875, a favourite dog was destroyed, and its body added to the funeral pyre. At Aston, Birmingham, in 1873, the burning of a deceased Gypsy's caravan was to be followed by the slaughter of her horse, according to a newspaper correspondent who visited the survivors whilst the work of destruction was in progress. In 1888, if reliance may be placed on a paragraph appearing in the *World* on June 6 of that year,² a favourite mare belonging to Walter Cooper was used to convey his body from Datchet Common, near Windsor, to a neighbouring churchyard, after which it was 'sacrificed to his manes.' About the same time, the rites observed at Fakenham, Norfolk, following the interment there of Bui Brown, Lydia Smith's husband and Ambrose's brother-in-law, included the shooting of his horse and dog. More recently than this, though I do not know when precisely, one of the South Welsh Herons, Lurina, wife of Walter Ryles, was, as she phrased it, 'so igerant as to 'ave 'is 'orse killed' on his demise.³ And at a date which I cannot estimate, even approximately, two Welsh or Welsh Border Lovells, with whom Noah Lock was acquainted, first sold their dead father's donkey to a farmer, and then secretly poisoned it, because, after being fearful and miserable for two months, they could stand the strain no longer.

Judging from statements made by Lurina Heron, Noah Lock, Eithel Lee, and Matthew Wood (who had Lees and Locks in mind), and also by Adelaide Lee and Kadilia Brown, it is probable that animal sacrifices have been relatively less uncommon in recent years among Welsh and Welsh Border Gypsies, and the East Anglian Smiths and Browns, than in other families or 'clans'; for they appear to have been rare in the southern and central parts of England, with the exception of the North Midlands, where Boswells,

¹ P. 203.

² Quoted in the *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 54.

³ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 79.

Bosses, and Birmingham Smiths, according to Lias Boswell and Alfred Smith, have sometimes slaughtered small animals, and very occasionally a favourite donkey or horse; whilst in the 'No Name' Heron-Taiso Boswell 'clan,' which is representative of northern Gypsydom at its best, their occurrence, though vouched for by Īza and Saiki Heron, Esau Young, Taimi Boswell, and Shani Gray, has never been exemplified, to my knowledge, other than by the alleged shooting of three horses, that were in fact sold, by Isaac Heron on the death of his wife, Sinfai, at Darlington in 1907.

But if the sacrifice of animals, even those to which their deceased owners were greatly attached, has been somewhat infrequent of late years (and possibly at any time), their retention by surviving relatives, though regarded by Crabb as customary in Hampshire, has very often been considered undesirable. 'When one'n our people died,' said Lias Boswell, 'his horses and donkeys was al'ays sowld straight away, both what he used for his own purposes, and what he had in the way o' business. We never kept 'em no longer nor we could help.' And a similar procedure was, and in some cases still is, common among East Anglian Smiths and Browns, members of the 'No Name' Heron-Taiso Boswell 'clan,' Welsh Herons, Lees and Locks, and sections at least of the Boss, Major Boswell, Major Lovell, and Birmingham Smith families, if none besides, gorgio purchasers being sought as a rule, and slaughterers now and again.¹ Outside the Derby colony, however, I have not heard any one say that it was necessary to employ an agent to dispose of animals. Nor can I offer any parallel to Isaac Heron's action in selling off his horses on the death of his wife, though the custom is a recognised one in his 'clan,' according to Noah Heron, Esau Young, and Reuben Gray.

The chief kinds of property commonly possessed by English Gypsies have now been considered, unless it is tools, about which I have nothing to say except that burning and burying them, as on the death of Aaron Boswell in 1866, or 'drowning' them, as when a house-dwelling Stanley died by Nunwell Park, in the Isle of Wight, shortly before 1900,² should not be accounted unusual despite an admitted scarcity of quotable examples, for it is frequently implied in the descriptions of funeral sacrifices, and the

¹ When the younger Dimiti Buckland died, his son, Francis, kept his horse, but never worked it again; and, though I cannot now find or recall the particulars, I distinctly recollect hearing of a similar action on the part of a Cambridgeshire Shaw or Brinkley.

² *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, vol. xii. (1903), p. 496.

general statements regarding their extent, that are available for study. And since this is so, it is reasonable to assume that no part of a deceased Gypsy's effects has been generally exempted from sacrifice or sale; and that property falling within each of the main categories has been destroyed, discarded, or sold sufficiently often to warrant the belief that a considerable body of opinion has always been opposed to its retention in the family. Moreover, there are Gypsies now living, or but recently dead, who have parted with absolutely everything, save money and a few strictly personal possessions of their own, when bereaved of their nearest relatives, at a loss to themselves, or their children, that has sometimes exceeded £100, and occasionally £150.

X

The Yetholm tinklers burned the clothes of their dead, 'not so much from any apprehension of infection being communicated to them, as the conviction that the very circumstance of wearing them would shorten the days of the living.' Joshua Gray's wife, Delenda Williams, referring more particularly to personal belongings, averred that 'what's bin used by the dead isn't for the living to have, and them as keeps such things is putting therselves in the way o' trouble, and must expec's to come to a undateful end.' And Lavinia Boswell, with the eloquence that came to her when she was moved by strong feeling, pictured a whole host of misfortunes as the lot of those who retained a dead relative's clothes, or personal possessions. 'If yous was do that,' she declared, 'yous'd be ha'nted and da'nted wid bad luck and resease into all your days. Yous'd have none renjoicement of nothink, and whatsumever yous did it'd prove a curse to yous. And maybe yous'd go out'n your mind, or maybe yous'd waste away into a skelinton. And nobody'd dissociate wid yous, not your own kinspeople. If yous was to meet wid your sister, what yous had bin brought up along of, she'd not know the side'n the road yous was on. "Bide away from they," she should say to her husband and her children, "for theys is under a curse, what'll pass on to we an we mix and mingle wid they."'

In the opinion of other Gypsies, impersonal property, when it is kept in the family after the death of its owner, is certain to cause trouble, since it is peculiarly liable to behave in a strange fashion. '*Mulo kovas sã jãls pogadũ drẽ the drum, an' there's wafadi bok wi' lendi,*' Mr. Myers was informed by Mizelli, daughter

of Lūrina Heron and Walter Ryles;¹ and I have heard the same view expressed by several members of the 'No Name' Heron-Taiso Boswell 'clan,' including Saiki and Trēnit Heron, Reuben Gray, and his wife, Athalaia Boswell. Its truth, according to Saiki, was amply demonstrated on the death of a kinsman of hers, in Scotland, about twenty years ago. Shortly before he fell ill, it appears, he had provided himself with a new waggon; and to this his widow clung tenaciously, though 'ther was them as towld her she'd never have no good by it.' Nor did she, if the story may be believed, for after it had shed a wheel on the road, and run away down a steep hill when the brakes were hard on, and maimed the poor woman and two of her children, it finally overturned on nearly level ground, and then caught fire through the scattering of live coals from the stove; and all this within the space of three months.

Besides these beliefs there exists a third, which possibly embraced them originally. Saiki, at any rate, accounted for the series of disasters that befell her kinsman's waggon by assuming his spirit to be restless and resentful. 'The dear man couldn't bide quiet in his grave,' she declared, 'when his *monišni* was using of his things same as if he was alive; and there's nothing worser nor a unrestless spirit for bringing trouble to them what's to blame for it.' And Lavinia Boswell, whose catalogue of the evils that befall those who retain the personal possessions of the dead I have just quoted, described on another occasion how the ghost of her grandfather, Ambi Lovell, appeared again and again to a relative of his, one Daili Lee, who had stolen his silver snuff-box as he lay dead in his tent, 'till at the last the rotten monkey he was forced for to take and bury it by the side 'n his grave.'

The commonest formulation of this notion of a spirit restless and jealous if its earthly possessions are not disposed of by the survivors seems to be the one I heard from Lavinia at yet another time. 'My mother,' she said then, 'wouldn't have stayed into her grave unless wes had restroyed heverythink belonging to her, heverythink, that is, what was hers for her own. She wouldn't have liked for we, or for hanybody, to keep and use her things after when she was gone.' Similar statements have been made, to my knowledge, by Esau Young, Shani Gray, Lias Boswell, Henry (Zachariah) Lock, and Sūbi Lee, either about a particular person, or the dead in general; whilst Joe Lock and his wife, Dora Taylor,

¹ J. G. L. S., N.S., v. 80.

in the letter they wrote to Sübi after the fatal accident to their child, spoke of trying to ensure its undisturbed rest by having everything connected with it destroyed, including photographs.

Gypsies quite often believe, too, that the souls of the dead will re-visit their former habitations, and cling to, or hover round, their earthly possessions, if they have the opportunity. Cornelius Price explained to a reporter that had he not burned his van on the death of his son, Crimea, the boy's spirit would have returned in a short time and haunted it. Members of Frank Elliot's family told Mr. Hall that they destroyed his waggon 'for fear of him coming back to it at nights.' Adelaide Lee, after arranging to purchase a Pullman road-car from some gorgios, immediately cancelled her offer on hearing that a man had died in it a few years previously, because she was afraid his ghost would haunt it, she said. And William Heron's wife, Jane Boswell, thought that 'the worst of second-hand waggons is as you never know whos 'll share 'em wid you, when ther's people as has died into 'em, same as they 'most al'ays has.' Again, both Adelaide Lee and her half-sister, Katie Smith, were firmly convinced that *mulos* cleave to their former belongings when any are left undestroyed; and so was Taimi Boswell's widow, Cashi Lovell, who had heard that 'dead people's things is iew cowl'd to touch, and smells like churches.'

Fear, then, would seem to lie at the root of English Gypsy funeral sacrifices, and the sales of property that sometimes accompany them; fear of the spirits of the dead being restless, jealous, and resentful if their earthly possessions are retained in the family; of their clinging to them, and haunting them. Indeed, as earlier writers have recognised, no other conclusion is possible; nor has any been reached by responsible investigators since the facts were known in some detail. Moreover, Wittich¹ assures us that German Gypsies 'believe that the ghosts of the dead must haunt the waggon in which they lived during their life, and find no repose until it is destroyed or removed from the family ("Stamm"). On that account,' he says, 'if such a waggon were to be further used by the relations ("Angehörigen") they would come nightly and torment them and bring them ill-luck.'²

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 49.

² Wlislöcki (*Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, Hamburg, 1890, pp. 280, 299), writing of Transylvanian Gypsies, declares that they remove a dying person's property from his tent lest the soul on leaving the body should stumble over something, and consequently return to take vengeance on the survivors. Afterwards

As English Gypsies have commonly called in gorgios to lay out their dead, and have sometimes taken away and buried food and provisions on a death occurring in the tent where they were, a small part of their funeral sacrifices may have been inspired by dread of pollution. Caroline Boswell, it will be remembered, held that anything a dying man had touched must be destroyed or discarded even if it did not belong to him; and in her family money found in a dead man's pockets, and any he had handled shortly before he expired, was considered to be contaminated, and was buried with him; whilst after the funeral of a Gypsy killed in a brawl, somewhere in Suffolk, in the early eighties, a fire was made of the cart, not necessarily his own, that had been used to convey his corpse to the churchyard.¹ These things, however—unless it is the one relating to money—might equally well have been due to fear of the ghost clinging to its earthly body, or objects adjacent to it, or but recently in contact with it. And more probably they were perhaps, as no writer on Continental Gypsies, so far as I am aware, has credited them with a belief in the defiling power of death, or any custom that certainly points to it. True, the German Gypsies sometimes save property from destruction by removing it from a sick person's waggon before he dies;² but this practice, which is unrecorded for English *Romane*, is probably based on the common idea that the spirits of the dead are easily tricked. Still, I should not care to assert that Gypsy sacrificial ritual in this country owes nothing at all to fear of pollution—if this is to be distinguished from ghostly adhesion, as it has been by some authorities. Nor would I have the reader conclude that service of the dead, which almost certainly underlies offerings made at the grave, and the enclosure of certain articles in coffins, has been a negligible consideration with English Gypsies; though where their funeral sacrifices are concerned it has, clearly, been undertaken primarily to protect the living from the dead, by making the latter happy and contented with their lot, and not to furnish them with things they might need in a future life.

Were further proof required that Gypsies dread the return of disembodied spirits it could be found in their avoidance of the

they destroy his effects, the destruction being delayed formerly until such time as the spirit was supposed to be finally freed from the body. He gives no reason for the sacrifice, except that the heat of the fire was thought to protect the ghost against cold on its chilly journey.

¹ *Christian Age*, Oct. 17, 1913.

² *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 48-9.

personal names of near relatives no longer living. I knew Lavinia Boswell exceptionally well for several years, yet it was not from her, but from Gypsies outside the family, that I learned her mother's name, Savaina; and it was not she, but one or other of her children, who revealed the names of her deceased sister, Lily, and of her daughter, Ena, who had died as a child. In fact, I never heard Lily's name mentioned by the *çave* even, except in the rare oath, 'by my dear aunt Lily, what's dead and into her grave'; nor Ena's but once, when it slipped out inadvertently; whilst even now I am ignorant of the name of another of Lavinia's children whom she lost in infancy. And here is an experience that befell Groome. One day during a conversation with Frampton Boswell, near Edinburgh, he asked his friend how he came by his name, and if it was his father's. 'Well, Mr. Groome,' said Frampton, 'I can't tell you that. But wait a minute.' And, going to his mother's caravan, he returned with a framed photograph of a grave, on the headstone of which Groome read the words, 'Thomas Boswell, traveller,' and the date 1873. 'There, Mr. Groome,' said Frampton, 'that was my poor father's name; but, you know, I've never spoken it not since the day he died.'¹

Such extreme reticence is not uncommon, and even in its absence many Gypsies normally refrain from uttering the names of near relatives whom they have lost. If another relative, or a friend, bears the same name, a fresh one, or a nickname, is quite often substituted. Thus Siterus Boswell, who belongs to the small Berkshire-Oxfordshire Boswell family, became Jack on the death of his great-uncle, Siterus,² and Vainer Smith, 'Yoki' Shūri's nephew, was known as Robert after her brother, Vainer, died; whilst Aaron Boswell's son, Uriah, was called 'Lily' by his kinspeople from the time of his uncle Uriah's decease, and Chēsi Price has been addressed as 'Shovel Mouth' by his friend, Newcombe (Nūx) Heron, since the latter was bereaved of his little son, Chēsi.³ Again, when Gypsies swear by a dead relation—the most sacred of oaths—more often than not his name is omitted, though other details may be given; as, for example, when Joshua Gray vowed by his 'dear, dead grandfather, what was killed by thunder and lighting at Tetford into Lincolnshire.'

¹ *Papers and Transactions of the International Folk-Lore Congress*, 1891 (London, 1892), p. 305. Frampton Boswell's father, who was buried at Guide Bridge, near Manchester, was usually called Josiah, not Thomas.

² Communicated by Mr. Winstedt.

³ Communicated by Mr. Alfred James.

After reluctantly naming a deceased relative some Gypsies hasten to add an apologetic, or more frequently a protective, clause. 'May he forgive me for mentioning of his name,' was a favourite with Lias Boswell; and I have heard, 'May she rest in her grave,' from Sübi Lee, 'God rest the dear man,' from Saiki Heron, and 'God rest him,' from Taimi Boswell and Alfred Smith. I remember, too, that Lavinia Boswell, who was visibly moved when her daughter, Vensa, let Ena's name slip out, remarked in a broken voice: 'Pray God as my child is at rest.' Unwillingness to speak the name of a dead relative, then, undoubtedly arises, as a general rule, from fear of disturbing his rest, or calling up his spirit; and explicit statements to this effect have been recorded from Frank Elliot (by Mr. Hall), Lias Boswell, and Saiki Heron. German Gypsies, according to Wittich,¹ are also averse from uttering the names of deceased relatives; whilst Serbian and Turkish Gypsies, says Wlislöcki,² call on the departed by name on the seventh night after the burial, promise never to use it again, and implore him to quit the earth, and not let his ghost torment his friends.

Lawrence Boswell's descendants, in their travelling days, used to avoid camping-places where one of their family had died; and for years after Charles Burton's death, his widow, Selina Organ, a half-blood Lock, and his sons and daughters, kept away from the *aëing tans* he had used.³ Neither of these practices, which must rest, wholly or partly, on fear of encountering the ghost, is rare among English Gypsies. But it is a far commoner occurrence to find them abstaining, by vow or otherwise, from the favourite food, drink, or amusement of a deceased relative, or avoiding something closely associated with him, and more especially with the close of his life.

'I don't eat fish,' said Mary Wood ('Taw') to Mr. Macfie in 1900, 'not since the dear old soul and I ate it together for our dinner';⁴ and Lavinia Boswell never made Christmas puddings after her mother's death, as she had shared one with her just previously. Matthew Cooper gave up taking snuff when his wife died because she had often helped herself to a pinch from his box; and would not smoke cigars after the death of his nephew, Job, to whom he had given some a few days earlier,

¹ In a ms. article.

² *Volks Glaube und religiöser Brauch der Zigeuner* (Münster, 1891), p. 96.

³ Communicated by Mr. Myers.

⁴ Macfie, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

as Job reminded him when dying.¹ Richard Smith, a Lincolnshire Gypsy, did not drink ale after he lost a brother who had been fond of it;² and Matilda Winter of Louth abstained from it merely because a kind lady who had given her some died shortly afterwards.³ Noah Heron has not been inside a theatre or music hall since the death of his son, George, an expert step-dancer who appeared on the boards occasionally, and step-dancing is dead in his family; whilst an aunt of Louis Lovell's who saw his corpse dressed in a suit of red flannel vowed never to wear anything red again.⁴

These are typical examples of the abnegations English Gypsies impose on themselves; and, as a whole, perhaps they are best regarded as expressions of grief, though fear of the ghost, a master feeling whose potency can hardly be over estimated, may lie behind some of them, for Lavinia Boswell came home one day late in the December of 1913 and related how, on entering a gorgio's house, and noticing Christmas pudding on the table, she had fallen into a 'swownd,' and then seen her dead mother standing beside her. They are occasionally replaced by a more generalised abstention from pleasures and luxuries, as when Abraham Buckland forswore fiddling, tobacco, snuff, strong drink, and frequenting public houses, on the death of his wife. But fasting, in the more ordinary sense of the term, has been uncommon apparently, though Trënit Heron never ate anything on Fridays after the death of her husband, Moses Boswell, whilst German Gypsies, it may be remarked, besides abstaining from a dead person's favourite food, used to fast on Fridays for a year, according to Liebich,⁵ before whose time they sometimes avoided meat altogether until after the first anniversary of the death.

NOTES AND QUERIES

6.—HUNGARIAN GYPSIES

Having completed his apprenticeship to a master barber in his native town of Halle and worked a few years as journeyman in Berlin and Spandau, Johann Dietz, at the age of twenty-one, became an army surgeon, and in 1686 marched with the Brandenburgers to Hungary and took part in the siege of Ofen. He describes the journey in the memoirs which he wrote in his old age, and makes one curious reference to Gypsies:—

'After passing Gran we must have marched thirty miles or more without

¹ Leland, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 *seqq.*

² Communicated by Mr. Hall.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁴ Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

⁵ Crofton, *loc. cit.*, p. 35.

coming upon any town or village; but we frequently met with nomads, among whom whole families lived underground, like savages, who lived by hunting and fishing, like Tartars; they also ate raw meat and the meat of cattle that had been killed, or had died; as the gipsies do. Of whom we came upon several thousands before Leopoldstadt, entrenched behind an embankment, so that they were serving the Emperor for pay against the Turks; yet before long they were serving with the Turks. But they would not allow anyone to give them orders, organizing their own commando. They had their own generals and colonels and their own courts of justice, and they would not suffer any interference. They had their own priests and were baptized, when adult, in the rivers, being immersed three times. Their betrothal, too, is curious, since father and mother or the most intimate friends lead the bride to the bridegroom, she having first of all bathed quite naked in a river, after which she is strewn and presented with green boughs and flowers. They subject themselves to a strict legal discipline and behead or shoot the offender with no undue hesitation or delay. As I saw on this very occasion, they are not always united among themselves. Fire was kindled in their works, and they proceeded to kill one another with a great many cries for help, so that heads and bodies were rolling down their embankment; for our camp was close at hand. Directly one of our horses died, which happened pretty often, we took no particular measures, as they would immediately cut it up and make merry over it.'

Master Johann Dietz surgeon in the army of the great elector and barber to the royal court. From the old manuscript in the Royal Library of Berlin. Translated by Bernard Miall. First published by Dr. Ernst Consentius. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1923, pp. 55-6. R. A. SCOTT MACFIE.

7.—SKIN AND BONES

I have read Mr. Sampson's story of *Skin and Bones* in the *Gypsy Lore Journal* with much interest and note that Professor Halliday can find no exact parallel. I suggest that an almost exact parallel is to be found in Captain Marryat's story, *Snarleyyow*. Here the captain of the ship, Mr. Vanslyperken, spends all his time endeavouring to kill the cabin-boy, Smallbones, and after pistolling him, dropping him overboard, and getting his old mother to tackle him with a hammer, he is more and more horrified to find Smallbones turning up again unexpectedly, until he finally takes him for a ghost. Smallbones is described thus: like a ghost—a thin, shambling person, pale, cadaverous face, high cheekbones, goggle eyes, lank hair and long lanky legs; neck, long and thin; head toppling for want of support, very slow about his job; in fact, all the characteristics of *Skin and Bones*, together with the name resemblance. Smallbones comes off triumphantly in the end.

I suggest, therefore, that the Gypsy story is Marryat's *Snarleyyow* told in brief; and the only other plausibility is that Marryat picked up the germ of his story from this tale or from another original.

I know of a Makua story where a man invites the devil to come and stay in his house. He says to his wife, 'I would rather the devil was staying in my house than live with you alone': whereupon the devil appears. The wife spends all her time killing the devil with poisoned beer, poisonous cassada, with a hatchet, etc.; and each time she thinks she has done the trick the devil bobs up smiling, till finally he is dispelled by a witch-doctor, who fights a twenty-round contest with him, and the last seen of the devil is a large black goat legging it over the mountain side. I have heard this tale told in Swahili, at Manambiri, in East Africa, to the great joy of the audience, who howl with excitement at the vicissitudes of the fight, all done in pantomime.

LI. SLINGSBY BETHELL.

Mr. Slingsby Bethell's suggestion obviously raises a point of considerable interest, and an example, if it be an example, of part of the plot of a popular novel turning into a folk-tale is a phenomenon which no student of popular literature can afford to neglect. I have naturally acted upon his information and have looked through *Snarleyyow*; the edition available happened to be the second edition in three volumes published in the same year as the first, 1837. The resemblances in detail are rather striking. Mr. Slingsby Bethell has summarised the description of Smallbones' first appearance. We might add the description of Smallbones when stripped for punishment:—'Smallbones' back was now bared, and miserable was the spectacle; the shoulder-blades protruded, so that you might put your hand sideways under the scapula, and every bone of the vertebrae, and every process was clearly defined through the skin of the poor skeleton' (i. p. 37). Again, as he walks ashore with the bulky corporal, Smallbones in contrast appears 'a bag of bones—a reed—a lath—a scarecrow' (ii. p. 212). The resemblance between the names Skin and Bones and Smallbones is obvious. The hero of the folk-tale is referred to as Skinny; Smallbones is sometimes spoken of as Bones: e.g. 'If the dog ain't killed, Bones will be, that's sartain' (i. p. 47). Again, the captain's engagement of Skin and Bones: 'Thou art a scraggy fellow, thou wilt just suit me, thou wilt not eat too much,' recalls the first two chapters of the novel. Thus, when desperate, Smallbones rounds on his captain and persecutor with, 'Well, I wish you'd discharge me—or hang me, I don't care which. You eats so hearty, and the dog eats so hearty, that I gets nothing. We are only victualled for two' (i. p. 19).

After receiving three dozen with the cat and fighting the captain's dog with the weapons of nature, Smallbones is stunned by the captain (i. p. 38). The captain sends him over the side to fetch a pot of paint and then cuts the rope. When Smallbones, who in fact had saved himself by the rudder chains, reappears, Vanslyperken thinks him a ghost (i. pp. 264 foll.). The captain takes him ashore at night and pistols him (the corporal had previously extracted the bullet from the charge), and leaves him for dead. His subsequent reappearance again fills a guilty conscience with superstitious fears (ii. pp. 104 foll.). The captain attempts to bribe the corporal to kill him (ii. p. 241). 'Fear made him quite civil to the lad, whose life he now considered, as the ship's company did that of the dog's, it was quite useless for him, at least, to attempt' (ii. p. 249: not the most favourable specimen of Marryat's English style!). A plan to kill Smallbones by a poisoned herring fails (ii. pp. 289 foll.). Vanslyperken's mother then promises to do the deed for gold: the lad is decoyed ashore; the hag hits him on the head with a hammer, but, though both mother and son believe their work to be effective, Smallbones, in reality, is only stunned. Eventually he recovers consciousness, kills the old woman, and escapes (iii. p. 48). After this failure to kill him, Smallbones returns secretly to the ship, and some stress is laid upon his not appearing to terrify the captain until they are well at sea. Compare 'on they went for twenty miles. The ship made good speed, it was a sailing ship. Lo! here is Skin and Bones in front of him again!' Vanslyperken catches Smallbones asleep in a boat which is slung on its davits and tips him into the sea. 'If ever you haunt me again,' muttered Vanslyperken, 'may I be hanged' (iii. p. 107). But Smallbones is picked up by Jacobite smugglers, and eventually has the satisfaction of attending the hanging of Vanslyperken, who had been playing traitor to both sides in a Jacobite intrigue, and of completing his triumph by hanging *Snarleyyow*, the incredibly ill-conditioned canine familiar of the incredibly villainous villain. In the novel Smallbones does not actually become captain. On the other hand, he does quite early emerge as the hero and leader of the mutinous crew against Vanslyperken.

My impression is of a great similarity in the structure of the plot and of a number of minor similarities, hardly identities, of detail. They are not, indeed, exact, but might well be echoes of details in the novel. None of them by itself is conclusive,

but they have a certain cumulative force. My own opinion, though I could not pretend that it is certainly right, is that there is an essential connection between the novel and the story. If that is so, we are faced with an alternative. Either both derive from a common or parallel source or the tale is somehow derived from the book. Now, as regards the first alternative, it cannot be said to be inherently impossible that Marryat at some time heard a version of a tale like *Skin and Bones* which gave him the idea of the book. Against it, for what it is worth, is my subjective impression that as a folk-tale *Skin and Bones* is in some way peculiar, and my inability to find a parallel. It may quite truly and fairly be answered that my knowledge of folk-tales is not exhaustive, but I did, in fact, take some especial pains to hunt in likely places to find a parallel. It had occurred to me that it might be an adaptation of some local seafaring tradition or superstition, but I was unable to find anything like it in such sources as occurred to me as likely hunting grounds. If it is a folk-tale, I think at least that it must be rare.

My opinion is that the Gypsy story is probably derived from the book, although not directly, *e.g.* by some one reading out the book to some Gypsy. Quite apart from extraneous improbabilities, I do not think that it can derive directly from the book upon internal grounds. While it is true that the Smallbones-Vanslyperken duel, if I may so express it, falls away pretty neatly from the widows, real and fictitious, and the Jacobite intrigue, a very essential feature of the plot of this section of the novel is the ingenious intertwining of the failures of Smallbones and the crew successfully to destroy Snarleygow with the failures of the captain to kill Smallbones. I may be wrong, but I do not think that the dog could have inadvertently dropped out without leaving a trace in a version which was founded directly on an impression of the book. I cannot help thinking that Snarleygow and Smallbones have been deliberately disentangled.

Now, what I suggest may have happened, is this:—At some gathering, where stories were being swapped, was a lettered gorgio. To show his good-will or to spur his companions to emulation he takes his turn at telling a story. From what he remembers of *Snarleygow*—and the nature of the echoes of detail, with their inexactitude but their suggestive similarity, perhaps rather supports this view—he produces a story based upon that of Vanslyperken and Smallbones. Any one who has suddenly been called upon to 'invent' stories in the nursery will be familiar with the method. The story appeals to a Gypsy member of the audience and is repeated in a yet more simplified form. The magical element increases, and what may be called the folk-tale atmosphere—I am thinking of such details as the self-adjusting skeleton—affects it. It thus assumes the form of *Skin and Bones*.

Some such hypothesis, it seems to me, would most adequately explain: (1) similarities which are too marked to be credited to pure coincidence; (2) the fact, if it is not merely the delusion of my ignorance, that there is no parallel to be found in folk-tale. But it must be confessed that the hypothesis has no other foundation. It may, itself, be a fairy tale of sophisticated ingenuity.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

8.—A GYPSY SCAPEGOAT

In discussing the various magical methods of averting plague in modern Greece Mr. Megas quotes the following statement from Korullos, *Πεζοποιία ἀπὸ Πατρῶν εἰς Τρίπολιν*, 1890. 'The plague during the last terrible epidemic in Greece . . . spared Livartzi, because, as tradition says, many years ago, when the disease attacked the Peloponnese, the then inhabitants of Livartzi, with a view to the warding off of all future danger from the plague, buried a Gypsy boy alive as a propitiatory sacrifice.'—Γ. Α. Μέγα, *Παραδόσεις περὶ ἀσθενειῶν ἐν Λαογραφία, Ζ'*, (Memorial volume to Politis, Athens, 1923) p. 508.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

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JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

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I.—CHARLES GODFREY LELAND

By DAVID MACRITCHIE

THE centenary of the birth of our first President is an event of outstanding importance in the history of the Gypsy Lore Society, whose opening years of existence he supervised with a tender and loving care.

Beyond recording the fact that Leland was born on the 15th of August 1824, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States of America, of an old and honourable Colonial stock, it is unnecessary to refer here to the main incidents in his career. These are set forth in an interesting manner in his own *Memoirs* (London, 1893, 2 vols.) and in the biography by his niece, Elizabeth Robins Pennell (London, Boston, and New York, 1906, 2 vols.). It is his connection with this Society that pre-eminently deserves to be chronicled in these pages, a connection which dates from the spring of 1888. At that time he and Mrs. Leland were staying at Brighton, and one morning (to be precise, it was the 25th of March,—a Sunday) I called at their hotel and made myself known to him, having just then returned from a sojourn in the south of France, fresh from experiences with the Gypsies of Roussillon and Toulouse, about whom, of course, we talked. I can

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remember that he questioned me with regard to some of their phrases, and that when I furnished him with their common greetings of *Jála mistó? Soski jálas? Kai jassa tu?* he pronounced them to be merely adaptations of the French *Vous allez bien? Comment allez-vous?* and *Comment ça va?* I do not now admit this view to be necessarily correct, because such salutations are common to Europe, as witness *Wie geht's?* on the one hand, and *How goes it?* on the other. There is, however, a certain posthumous value in this expression of his opinion. These, at any rate, were among the matters we discussed over lunch, my amiable hostess throwing in an occasional remark. When, some hours later, he saw me off by the train for London, I was under promise to see his publisher on the subject of a projected magazine, to be entitled 'The Gypsy' and run on popular lines, which he believed would pay its way. I duly kept my word, but I was not surprised when (after a subsequent interview with Leland himself) the publisher decided that, however interesting such a magazine might be, it could not possibly be profitable.

While I am speaking of this Brighton visit, I may add that it was a surprise to me to find in Leland a tall, vigorous and bearded specimen of the fair-skinned 'Nordic' type, to use the latest term. Older names were 'Scandinavian' and 'Germanic,' and the 'Celts' of 2000 years ago were the then representatives of the same type. I don't know that I had made any deliberate attempt to visualise him beforehand, but I had probably thought of him as a man who might have some physical affinity with the Gypsies. But this genial, blue-eyed giant was of a different order altogether. In his *Memoirs* he thus sketches himself (vol. i. p. 152) at the age of one-and-twenty:—'At this time I was a trifle over six feet two in height, and had then and for some time after so fair a red and white complexion that the young ladies in Philadelphia four years later teased me by spreading the report that I used rouge and white paint! I was not as yet "filled out," but held myself straightly, and was fairly proportioned. I wore a cap à l'étudiant, very much over my left ear, and had very long, soft, straight, dark-brown hair; my dream and ideal being the German student.' When I saw him at Brighton in 1888, his full moustache and flowing beard were white, his age being then sixty-three.

The Germany of his love was, of course, the land of Goethe and Schiller and of the Romantic school, the land of roistering students and of simple, kindly country-folk, all as pictured in the pages of

Longfellow's *Hyperion*. To the poetic and imaginative mind of young Leland the whole of Europe, and not Germany only, made a powerful appeal. 'At this time,' he says, 'I had, as indeed for many years before, such a desire to visit Europe that I might almost have died of it.' His first day on European soil was spent at Gibraltar, and he revelled in every minute of it. 'I saw more that was picturesque and congenial in that one day than I had ever beheld in all my life before. I had got into "my plate."'

Of his pride in the Gypsy Lore Society and in his position as its President, Mrs. Pennell has told us in her book. The first steps in the creation of the Society were taken by Francis Hindes Groome and myself, with Henry Thomas Crofton as Vice-President, in the hope that Leland would accept our combined invitation to fill the President's chair. This he agreed to do, and our circular was thereupon issued (April 1888), with the result that Sir Richard Burton and the Archduke Josef of Austria-Hungary almost simultaneously intimated their desire to become members; 'so that now there are five of us,' writes Leland, through whom the Archduke's request was conveyed, 'and a rum lot they are,' as the Devil said when he looked over the ten Commandments.' (His arithmetic may seem faulty, but he hadn't then heard that Burton was now one of our number.)

It will be seen that the failure of the magazine scheme was immediately followed by the inception of the Society and its *Journal*, and in these Leland took a keen and constant interest, doing all he could to widen the scope and increase the influence of both. Writing from Geneva in October 1890 he observes:— 'It is very certain that if the real merits of the G. L. Journal were known it would have a much larger circulation. People do not as yet understand that no one subject, be it in "Science" or History, can be thoroughly treated without involving others. I am really astonished at the excellence of the contributions. . . . Our Journal is gradually clearing up and proving the great extent, power and influence of Gypsies in days of yore.' In the same strain is his closing article, 'What We Have Done,' in the final number (April 1892) of the First Series of the *Journal*.

The choice of Leland as our first President was a very happy one. There were then, as he would have been the first to admit, many men of greater linguistic knowledge whose election would have been equally an honour to the young Society. But none of these held his position in the English-speaking world, where he

was widely known for his humour, his versatility, and his scholarly attainments. Nor was his fame confined to the English-speaking world, for he had studied at Heidelberg, Munich and Paris, and was at home in the society of most European countries as well as in his native land. Moreover, the mantle of Borrow had fallen upon him. 'I have enjoyed gypsying more than any sport in the world, and I owe my love of it all to George Borrow,' he says in one place; and he tells us elsewhere how he sang some of Borrow's Gitano songs to Spanish smugglers in Marseilles, at the time of his arrival in Europe in 1845. There was, indeed, more than a superficial resemblance between the characters of Borrow and Leland. Like Borrow, Leland loved to astonish smugglers, Gypsies, witches, and other queer people by his unexpected knowledge of their ways. In this he was following his master more or less consciously, although it was the *fun* of the situation that appealed to him most. Both, also, were fond of languages, and liked to play the polyglot. Other parallels might be drawn, but, in spite of several resemblances, there was an essential difference between the two men. There can be no doubt, however, that Gypsy study received an immense impetus from Borrow and Leland. From the linguistic point of view, their knowledge was admittedly superficial. Nevertheless, each had a literary charm that attracted the outsider and awakened in him an interest in Gypsies. Leland's *The Gypsies* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1882) is a most lively and entertaining book, and I am glad to learn that a new edition of it is expected in this centenary year.

From the time I first met Leland, I was impressed by the frankness and genuineness of his nature. I saw more of him a few years later, and we continued to exchange letters long after the cessation of the First Series of the *Journal*. My own personal regard for him makes me feel it to be a pleasure as well as a duty to commemorate his centenary in these pages by recalling some of his early services to the Society and his estimable qualities as a man.

He died at Florence on the 20th of March 1903.

II.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON.

No. 22. I BŶRĒ-'K'ENGERŌ.

With a Note by Prof. W. R. HALLIDAY.

Purī pīvlī. Sas lā trin čavē. Jivēnas bita kērestī maskal ī mūrēndī.

Purdēlas bŷrī bavāl t'ō bŷrō īv avrī. Akē purī wōntsēlas kušī kōšt te kel kušī yog te pekēl ō marikād. Yek bita kōšt sas muklō 'rē yogātī. "Jan yek tumēndē te les kušī kōšt." Maydās tā maydās.

Palāl 'čas oprē ō puredēr čavō. Piradās ō yudār. Dikās bŷrō īv. Trašīās, t'arē gyas pōlē tā pāndīās ō yudār. Bŷrē maŷi-benāsa gyas.

Akēk'ov akanō arē bŷrē vešēstī! Kedās kušī 'koi tā 'kai pōs te kedās bita drūba kōštā.

Aylē gyas. Dikās ručō vārtimaŷerēskō kēr arē ō rukād. Kekār dikās les peskē 'kensa arē peskō meriben. Niserdās¹ trušal lestī te

GOGGLE-EYES

There was an aged widow. She had three sons. They lived in a little hut among the mountains.

A storm was raging and there was deep snow without. Now the old woman wanted a few sticks to make a good fire to bake her cakes. Only one little stick was left on the fire. 'Go, one of you, to get a few sticks.' She begged and she begged.

At last the eldest son arose. He opened the door. He saw the deep snow. He was dismayed and turned in again and shut the door. But after much persuasion he went.

Lo! here he is now in the forest. He gathered a few sticks here and a few there, until he had made up a small faggot.

He went on. He saw a lofty watch-tower among the trees. Never before in his life had he set eyes upon it. He crept round

¹ *Niserdās*] As our editor remarks, the narrator of this story 'seems to have laid himself out to use *niser-* in every possible sense.' The primary meaning (generally with acc. or dat. of refl. pron.) 'to go out, set out, depart' is found in *Ak'ō vavēr šal niserdās pes*, which I have perhaps rendered a little too freely 'Now the second brother ventured out,' and in *Niserdās pesk'ō Jak*, 'Jack set off.' The secondary meaning, 'to go secretly, to steal away, to creep in any direction,' is exemplified in the passage above; while the third sense, 'to turn,' 'to move,' 'to change' (of weather) is met with in *Niserdās pes k'ō trin*, 'he turned to the three.'

r'odél anī sas les hudár. Sas les kek hudár. Dikás yek bita xestidr opré ručó.

Ak'ō bōrō šērō te dikél avrīdál. "Ēēē! tārnō mūršáia, kēr čomónī purē reskī. And mañi drōpa pānī aré okóva buklō kai ši poše 'koia xent."

"Sō desa man bōrē-'keñeráia?" "Ēēē! nai man čī te dā tut; bāt čorvanó šom." "Jō tā lē les kokorō, bōrē-'keñerō."

Pōlē gyas te lel peskī koštéñerī. 'Prē oxtilé ō košt tā kurdé les drōvén. K'eré prastiás peskē dakī. P'ukadās lakī te sas basavē yogéñerē aré ō veš. "Kurdé man daia, na mukénas man kek te andá kuši košt keré." Anjerdās ō čioχā, tā beštás talé poše yog.

Akē ĵurī ĵučél vavēr čavéstē te lel košt. Bōrē mañibenása gyas. 'Vias k'ō veš. Kedias kuši 'koi tā 'kai pos te 'vias kī 'kava ručó vārtimañeréskō kēr.

Akē bōrō šērō dikél avrt xestidr. "Ēēē! tārnō mūršáia, lē man drōpa pānī aré okóva buklō poše 'koia xent."

"Sō desa man, bōrē-'keñerō?" χoč'ō vaver pal. "Nai man čī te dā tut, čorvanó šom." "Jō tā lē les kokorō, bōrē-'keñerō."

it to find out whether it had a door. It had no door. He saw one little window high up.

Lo! a huge head looks out. 'Ho! young man, do something to oblige an old gentleman. Fetch me a little water in that pitcher by yonder spring.'

'What wilt thou give me, Goggle-Eyes?' 'Alack! I have nothing to give thee; I am very poor.' 'Go and get it thyself, Goggle-Eyes.'

He went back to pick up his faggot. Up leapt the sticks and drubbed him soundly. He fled home to his mother. He told her that there were cruel keepers in the wood. 'They beat me, mother, and would not let me bring home a few sticks.' He took off his shoes, and sat down by the fire.

Now the old woman asks the second son to get some wood. After much persuasion he went. He came to the forest. He gathered a few sticks here and a few there until he came to this lofty watch-tower.

Lo! a huge head looks out of the window. 'Ho! young man, bring me a little water in that pitcher by yonder spring.'

'What wilt thou give me, Goggle-Eyes?' quoth the second brother. 'I have nothing to give thee, I am a poor man.' 'Go and get it thyself, Goggle-Eyes.'

*Sō sas te 'viās i paléskī 'viās leskī. K'eré prastiās peskē dakī.
Dinilō sas ō tārnedēr pal te bešélas aré ēār poš'i yag. 'Prē 'ēas
tā tavyerdās¹ pes. Tavyerdās balānzī ēār avrti ēoxa. 'Sanīās
'prē peskē dūi paléndī. "Akē mē akanš!"*

Gyas ar'ō veš te kedél košt, pos te 'viās k'i ruči filištīn.

*Avrti 'viās ō bōrō šērō popalē. "Ēēē! tārno muršdīa, an purē
reskī drōpa pānī aré okōva buklō pošē 'koia xent."*

*Gyas ō Jak t'andīās buklō pānī leskī. Ō purō rai ēidās šelō arōl
i xestīdr talé lestī. P'endās i Jakéskī te pāndél ō buklō i šelēsa.
Ojō kedās ō Jak. Āziās les ō purō rai opré arōl i xestīdr.*

*Ō Jak dikélas okotār. Kana dikās pōlē popalē kek ručō kēr sas
odōi. Šundās rakeriben pala pestī: "Jak! Jak!"*

*Dikās trušāl pestī tā kek na dikās. Dikās 'lē pošē pīrē, tā 'doi
sas bita xuredō mūrš t'ō ēār garavélas les.*

*"Mē šom ō krališos i vešéstī, Jak. P'agerdān mīrō ēoveḡani-
bén, tā mukdān man pīrō." Gyas ar' peskī poči tā diās i Jakés*

As it happened to his brother, so it happened to him. He fled home to his mother.

The youngest brother was a simpleton, who sat in the ashes on the hearth. He got up and shook himself. He shook pounds of ashes from his coat. He fell a-laughing at his two brothers. 'It is my turn now!'

He went into the wood to gather sticks, until he came to the lofty castle.

Out popped the huge head again. 'Ho! young man, fetch an old gentleman a little water in that pitcher by yonder spring.'

Jack went and fetched him a pitcher of water. The old gentleman lowered a rope to him through the window. He bade Jack fasten the pitcher to the rope. Jack did so. The old gentleman drew it up through the window.

Jack was gazing the other way. When he looked round again there was no watch-tower there. He heard a voice behind him: 'Jack! Jack!'

He looked about him but saw no one. He looked down at his feet, and there was a tiny dwarf hidden in the grass.

'I am the King of the Forest, Jack. Thou hast broken the enchantment laid upon me, and set me free.' He felt in his pocket

¹ *t'avyerdās*] *t'avyer-*, 'to shake' (trans.), a denom. of *t'av*, 'shake, shaking, concussion'; cp. Pasp. *tūp dava*, *tāv dava*, 'to strike,' also Pott. (i. 437, ii. 282) *tapperdava*, 'to beat, bang, grip.' The noun is probably a doublet of *dab*, 'blow,' and if, as Mik. supposes (vii. 40), it is connected with Skt. '√dabh,' Hind. 'dhappā,' 'blow,' the aspiration (by metathesis) of our W. Gyp. form is accounted for.

vayuštrī. "Sō baxterésu tū, mōr¹ i vayuštrī, tū lesa ō baxteribén."
Parikerdās les ō Jak.

Čidās i vayuštrī aré poči tū gyas te dikél i košténjī. Odói sas ō košt kediné, tū gyas lensa kéré kī peskī dai.

"Kuško alavibén² kela 'kavá." *I purī čidās ō košt 'prē yōg te pekél ō marikīd.*

Bōrī filištīn pošé, tū 'rē 'kaia filištīn jivélas tārnī rōnī. 'Doi sas bōrō paravibén³ pošī filištīn tū dūr aré lestī gonō sunakái, tū bōrī yōg mamāi lestī.

Čidō sas ō lav sōr 'pārl ō tem te delas ō filištīnakerō peskī tārnēdēr čai 'doléski te andélas ō gonō sunakái leskī. Sau tārnē mūrš aré ō tem 'vilé 'doi, tū yōg mamāi ō bārenéjō tan diās len sōr talé.

Xočō puredēr pal peskē dakī: "Akē mē java te lā i tārnī rōnī, daia." *"Daiō! čavō, mō raker dinvarés."*

Ak'ō puredēr čavō jala. Dinilō talé i yōgāsa, tū pōlē 'viās.

and gave Jack a ring. 'Whatsoever thou wishest, rub the ring, and thou shalt have thy wish.' Jack thanked him.

He put the ring in his pocket and went to look for the sticks. There were the sticks gathered together, and he took them home to his mother.

'This will make a good blaze.' The old dame put the wood on the fire to bake her cakes.

There was a great castle hard by, and in this castle lived a young lady. There was a deep cavern near the castle and far within it a bag of gold, and a great fire at its mouth.

It was proclaimed throughout the land that the lord of the castle would give his youngest daughter to the man who brought the bag of gold to him. All the youths of the countryside came there, but the fire in front of the cave overcame them every one.

Quoth the eldest brother to his mother: 'I am going to win the young lady, mother.' 'Dear me, boy, don't talk so foolishly!'

Now the eldest brother goes. He was overcome by the fire and returned home.

¹ *mōr*] *mōr-*, Cont. Gyp. *mur-*, *mor-* from Skt. '√mṛd, mardati,' 'to rub,' 'to grind.' Borrow in his *Lavo-Lil* gives the Eng. Gyp. form *moar*, 'to grind.'

² *alavibén*] abstract noun of *alav-*, 'to light, to kindle,' Skt. '√dah, dahati,' 'to burn,' with prefix *ā-* in same sense.

³ *paravibén*] lit. 'cleft, split,' abstract noun of *parav-*, 'to cleave,' with the part. *paradō*; cp. Pasp. *paravdi* (in sens. obsc.).

Ak'ō vavēr þal niserdās¹ pes, t'i yag dīās les talé, tū keré 'vīās.

"Java mē 'doi, daia," χρῆō Ĵak. Ī þurī 'sanīās tōp lestī. "Mō av 'jō dinvarō te jes kī 'jesavō tan."

Niserdās¹ pesk'ō Ĵak, tū 'vīās k'ō bārenēyō tan 'doi-kā sas ī yag. Drūba gōjē truṣal ō tan. Kek na dikénas tōp lestī, sōr þunénas te dinilō sas-lō.

Tārdīās ō Ĵak ī vaþústri tū mōrdās lā. T'ā giās aról ī yag, ėin k'ō gonō sunakái, tū andīās les avrt.

Vārtínis ō þurō filiṣinākerō ī Ĵakés. Kana dikās les te þal aról ī yag, χρῆ kokoréski: "L'atīās mō þal, χῶ!"

Sau gōjē gilé peþī, t'ō filiṣinākerō gyas pōlē aré peskī komōra, tū kārđās peskē čaiā te 'ven kī yov. P'učđās lendē kon sas ī maþimāyerō te 'yas ō sunakái. Kek o lendē na þunénas les.

Ō bōrō rai wōntśelas te þunél kon sas akáva mūrś. Biśadās leskē būtiēyerē te zumavén sau kērā talal ī mūra. Čī na 'šiś l'aténas truṣal akáva mūrś, tū pōlē 'vilé k'ī filiṣtn.

Ak'ō Ĵak andēla ō gonō sunakái keré kī peskī dai, tū učerēla

Now the second brother ventured out, but the fire beat him, and home he came.

'I am going there, mother,' quoth Jack. The old woman laughed at him. 'Do not be so foolish as to go to such a place.'

Jack set off, and he came to the cave where the fire was. There was a crowd round the place. None of them took any notice of Jack, they all knew that he was a fool.

Jack pulled out the ring and rubbed it. And he went through the fire straight up to the bag of gold, and brought it out.

The old lord of the castle was watching Jack. When he saw him go through the fire he said to himself: 'So he has met my brother, has he?'

All the people went away, and the lord withdrew to his own room and summoned his daughters to come to him. He asked them who the beggar-man was who had got the gold. None of them knew him.

The great lord wanted to know who this man was. He sent his servants to inquire at all the dwellings on the mountain-side. They could find out nothing about this man and they returned to the castle.

Now Jack brings the bag of gold home to his mother, and

¹ See footnote 1, page 101.

les aré i kunsésti 'jō-sār gonō putdti. Na jūnēlas kek sō sas sunakái, t'ō dūi palá 'sanilē 'prē lesti.

Mōrdás i vanjštri, tā baxterdás dosta te xon peskē čurē dakī, tā lilē sōr te kārdē.

I bōrē-filišínákerō tugnō sas-lō trušal akáva kova. R'ōdēlas i mūršéskī sōkon dives. Yek dives avrt gyas i romnīdasa aré gūya, dikás bita kēr maskal i mūrēndi. Kistiás keré, tā kalikó bišadás yek o būtiēgerē te dikél kon jivénas aré o bita kēr kā sas maskal i mūrī.

'Vias o būtiákerō kī 'kava bita kēr, tā kūrdás o hudār. 'Vias i puri k'ō hudār. "Kon jivén akái!" xōč'ō būtiákerō. "Mē tā mē trin čavē tā kek palál," xōčē yoi.

I puri trašēlas lestē. Trašias te 'velas odói te bišavél len avrt o kēr. Ō būtiákerō pučdás te dikél o čavē. "Aua, raia, kārā mē len 'kai 'kanš." Niserdás¹ pes k'ō trin, tā pendás: "'Doi sī rai k'ō hudār te wontsēla te dikél tumé trinén."

Ō trin palá 'vilē k'ō hudār. Ō būtiákerō jundias i Jakés sō kekār dikás les. P'učdás lestē kuši lavyd, gyas 'rē peskī poči, tā diás les panš kold.

throws it in the corner as if it were a sack of potatoes. He did not know what gold was, and his two brothers laughed at him.

He rubbed the ring, and wished for plenty to eat for his poor mother, and they had everything they called for.

The lord of the castle was troubled about this thing. He searched for the man every day. One day he drove out with his lady in the carriage, and saw a little hut in the midst of the mountains. He drove home, and on the morrow he sent one of his men-servants to see who lived in the little hut that was among the mountains.

The serving-man came to this little hut, and knocked at the door. The old woman came to the door. 'Who live here?' quoth the man. 'Myself and my three sons and no one else,' she answered.

The old woman was afraid of him. She feared that he had come there to turn them out of the house. The servant asked to see the boys. 'Yes, sir, I will call them here at once.' She turned to the three and said: 'There is a gentleman at the door who wishes to see the three of you.'

The three brothers came to the door. The serving-man recognised Jack as soon as he saw him. He asked him a few questions, put his hand in his pocket, and gave him five shillings.

¹ See footnote 1, p. 101.

K'eré gyas o būtiákerō, tā pukadās i pūrē reskī te l'atīās les. Ō rai bišadās i gīga t'ō būtiákero t'andél les kī filišín.

Kana dikās o Ĵak i gīga, 'sanīās. "Sō wōntsésa mansa?" tā 'sanīās pōpalē. "Mus te 'ves aré 'kaia gīga. Ō rai wōntséla te dikél tut k'i filišín." Gyas o Ĵak aré gīga tā stavdē k'i filišín.

I filišinákerō ĵundīās les sō kekār dikās les. Sau čaiā 'sanilē tōp i čurē Ĵakéstī, tā kedē paīas tōp lestī. Na keserdās o dad čī trušal lendī, tā pukadās i lovinakeréskī t'andél buklō lovīna i Ĵakéskī.

Ō rai zumadās les kušī lavyd, tā sau čēros i Ĵakéskō vast sas aré peskī počī, te mōrélas i vaņuštrī. "Kā ĵivésa, Ĵak?" pūčdās o rai. "Aré mūra ĵiváva mē, raia, mē dūi palénsa tā mē dasa."

I tārnedēr rōnī učerélas i 'kā tōp i Ĵakéstī. Xč'ō Ĵak kokoréstī: "Kamós odóia tārnī rōnī te 'vel te pīrél mansa."

Palal-sō rakerdē kitanés bōrī waila: "Mus te ĵā keré kī mī dai 'kanš," xč'ō Ĵak. I tārnī čai 'čas opré tā xč'ē Ĵakéskī: "Sikaváva tut mē pōšedēr činiben kī tīrō kēr."

Rakerdē pen 'prē o drom. "Savī būti kesa, Ĵak?" 'Sanīās o

The servant went home, and told the old lord that he had found him. The lord sent the carriage and the servant to bring him to the castle.

When Jack saw the carriage, he laughed aloud. 'What dost thou want with me?' And he laughed again. 'Thou must get into this carriage. The lord wishes to see thee at the castle.' Jack got into the carriage and they drove at full speed to the castle.

The lord of the castle recognised him as soon as he saw him. All the daughters laughed at poor Jack and made fun of him. Their father paid no heed to them, and ordered the butler to bring a tankard of ale for Jack.

The lord put a few questions to him, and all the time Jack's hand was in his pocket rubbing the ring. 'Where dost thou live, Jack?' asked the lord. 'I live on the mountain, sir, with my two brothers and my mother.'

The youngest lady was throwing glances at Jack. Quoth Jack to himself: 'I should like that young lady to come for a walk with me.'

After they had talked together for a long time, Jack said: 'I must go home to my mother now.' The young girl arose and said to Jack: 'I will show thee a shorter cut to thy house.'

They talked to each other on the way. 'What work dost thou

Ĵak. “*Či na keráva mē; kedáva kuši kōšt mé čurē dakī.*” *Sikadās les ī pīréskō drom.* “*Mus te muká tut akanō, Ĵak,*” *χōē yoi.*

Ō Ĵak 'vīds kerē. “*'Vīds raikanī rōnī, daia, te bišavēl man 'prē ō drom avrt fīlīšinátī.*” “*Tū! čorō čavō, mā lē ēi te kes bōrē rōnīása oĵē.*” “*Aua, daia, lava mē čomónī te kerá lasa, tā andáva lā akái, tai.*”

Reperdās ī vaŋúštrī, tārđiās lā avrt potsī, mōrdās lā. “*Kamós te diká ō krališos ō veš!*” *Sō kekār s'ō lav pēndilō komónī dilē les tōp ō pīkō.* “*Akē mē! Ĵak, sō wōntsésa?*” “*Kamós te romerá ī tārnedēr rōnī, ī fīlīšínakerésķī čai.*”

“Mištō! Ĵak,” χōē ov, “*sō wōntsésa papalē?*” “*Kamós bōrī fīlīšín pōšē tutī arē ō ruk'á.*” *Sō kekār sas ō lav pēndilō, odói sas ī fīlīšín arē ō ruká.*

Mōrdās ī vaŋuštrī papalē, tā baχterdās te 'velas ī tārni rōnī oprē ķī you arē gīgátī.

Sō kekār baχterdās dikās ī gīga tā dūi graiā te 'venas, t'ī rōnī sas arē, t'ō dūi greŋerē bešénas aŋlān. *Tārđilē 'prē kana dikē ī Ĵakés, tā 'cilē konŷō.*

do, Jack?’ Jack laughed. ‘I do nothing; I gather a few sticks for my poor mother.’ She showed him the footpath. ‘I must leave thee now, Jack,’ quoth she.

Jack came home. ‘A lovely lady came, mother, to set me on the road from the castle.’ ‘Thou! Poor boy, have naught to do with a great lady like her.’ ‘Indeed, mother, I will have something to do with her, and I will bring her here into the bargain.’

He remembered the ring, pulled it out of his pocket and rubbed it. ‘I should like to see the King of the Forest.’ No sooner was the word spoken than some one tapped him on the shoulder. ‘Here I am, Jack! what dost thou want?’ ‘I should like to marry the youngest lady, the daughter of the lord of the castle.’

‘Very well, Jack!’ quoth he, ‘what else dost thou want?’ ‘I should like a large castle near thee among the trees.’ As soon as the word was spoken, there was the castle among the trees.

He rubbed the ring again and wished the young lady to come up to him in the carriage.

As soon as he had uttered the wish he saw the carriage and pair coming, with the lady inside and two coachmen on the box. They drew up when they saw Jack, and stood still.

I tārni rōnī 'vīās avrt gīga, tā diās ō vast ī Jakéski. 'Yas lā ō Jak kī peskī nōgī filišin, tā romerdé.

Ĵidilē mištō odōva dives kī 'kava dives, tō Ĵak sas yōgēnerō peskē pōrnē kokéski.¹ Mukdās ō gonō sunakāi peskē pālējī, tā ċurē dakī.

'Yom bōrī goi te pēnd 'kava xoxiben !

The young lady stepped out of the carriage and held out her hand to Jack. Jack took her to his own castle and they were married.

They lived happily from that day to this, and Jack was gamekeeper to his uncle by marriage. He left the bag of gold for his brothers and his poor mother.

I got a big pudding for telling this lie !

[The hero of this story is an Ashypelt or male Cinderella, the idle and loutish youngest brother who sleeps all day on the stove or in the ashes and is often endowed with prodigious strength. Whereas our hero shakes pounds of ashes off his coat, Ivan Popyaloff shakes off six poods (240 lb.), Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 66, and a Turkish Ashypelt causes so great a storm when he shakes himself that all the peasants run home from the fields, conveniently leaving their ploughs behind for him to collect and carry to the smith as raw material for his iron staff (Kúnos, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul*, pp. 97-8).

In general, for variants of the male type of Cinderella see Bolte und Polívka, i. pp. 183-5, Cosquin, *Les Contes Indiens et l'Occident*, pp. 494-9, Cox, *Cinderella*, pp. 437-62, and 519-99.

This group of stories was evidently in popular favour at the time of the Reformation, as is shown by its frequent use in sermons by Luther and others who were fond of comparing Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob, etc., with the elder brother and the good despised Cinder Lad who proved in the end the better man. (For references see Bolte und Polívka, *loc. cit.*)

For the rest the form of our story, which is rather broken down, does not call for much comment.

The form of test for the princess's hand is frequently the three days' tourney, or riding up the glass mountain, or jumping on horse-back over a ditch or a mast or up to a high storey of a palace or building. Further, the variants of the Siegfried story seem to

¹ *pōrnē kokéski*] This phrase, *pōrnō kok*, 'uncle by marriage, step-parent's brother,' is borrowed from the Welsh 'ewyrth gwyn.'

show an alternative connection between the glass mountain and the mountain encircled by a ring of fire. (See the references given, Bolte und Polívka, iii. pp. 111-12.)

The curious phrase of the squire, 'So he has met my brother, has he?' suggests to me a confusion in the narrator's mind with the story of Ashypelt (Groome, p. 235). Ashypelt, it will be remembered, is sent by his employer to sleep in the haunted castle, and it turns out that the ghost who eventually reveals the treasure to Ashypelt is the murdered brother of the man who has set him the task. The behaviour of the youngest daughter in throwing glances at Jack, in contrast to the contempt displayed by the elder sisters, is according to rule. For *Gattenwahl* see references in Bolte und Polívka, iii. p. 111.

W. R. H.]

III.—ANGLO-ROMANI GLEANINGS

(II) FROM LONDON-SIDE GYPSIES

A MAJORITY of the words and phrases on which this partial study of London-side Romani is based were recorded from members of a Kentish-Metropolitan Lee family, a great many of them coming, by a fortunate chance, from their generally acknowledged pundit, Wester [W. Lee], son of 'stuttering' Amos. Amos and his wife, Mary Lee, were married about 1820, and had seven other children living when Wester ('Dob') was born at Northfleet in 1841—Tom, Jack or Noah ('Soldier'), Belcher, Fennimore, Moses, Flöri, and Emily.¹ Fifteen months later Mary died, and Wester was left with an aunt, Lucy Lee, who taught him the Romani he delighted to expound in later years, professorially, after the manner of another and better-known Wester. The words with which he is credited below were dictated to the Honorary Secretary during the summers of 1910, 1911 and 1912 at Sheerness, where the old man and his son, Jack, provided a variety of amusements on the recreation ground. He was then in failing health, and the death of his wife, Celia Roberts, in the spring of 1910 had resulted in some weakening of his mental powers; but it was not until 1923 that he died, in his customary winter quarters at Longlands Park, between Sidcup and New Eltham.

¹ The father of either Amos or Mary Lee, the former more probably, was a James Lee who is said to have danced a hornpipe at the age of 102. Emily told G. Smith that her father was a Norfolk Lee and her mother a gorgio (*Gipsy Life*, London, 1880, pp. 228-9).

Groome has mentioned how Wester said to him at Notting Hill: 'When you see the *malúna* [lightning] you will hear the *gúriben* [thunder].' That was in 1873, at their first meeting. 'This Mr. Groomebridge,' Wester used to relate, 'was having tea wi' owld Shēdi Hearn: lettuces and spring onions they was having, I mind, a-sitting in Shēdi's tent. And when Shēdi sin me coming along, he says to Mr. Groomebridge: "Now, Mr. Groomebridge," he says, "this is your man. I'll lay he knows more words nor what any of us does, though he's not much above a quarter'n my age." So this Mr. Groomebridge, he gives me the time o' day; and then he starts in *roking* *Romanis* to me. It was beautiful to hear him; he had it all that pat and easy, same as one'n our own people; and he know'd some *pūri lavyō* too, I could see. Well, I lets him go on a while, giving him no more'n civility and plain English. Then I started in on him, and I plugged it into him as hard as I could go. He opens his eyes a bit, I can tell you. Then up he jumps (a very short man he was, and just fresh from college then). "What's the Romani for this?" he axes me, and "What's the Romani for that?" Which I tells him; I tells him everythink he axed me, and more besides. And there was he dancing round, he was that excited. "Your tea's a-getting cowl, Mr. Groomebridge," says owld Shēdi, but he give no heed to him. "What's the Romani for this?" he says; and so we goes on, one agen the tother, till we was both'n us very near out o' breath. "Come and have a drink, Wester," he says; but I give him no to that. "Well, have a pipe o' 'bacca then," he says; but "No," I says, "I won't have nothink off of you, so it's no manner o' use asking of me." I didn't mean it unkindly, 'cause I liked the boy, only he seemed to think as I did. His face dropped. So I just plugged some more *Romanis* into him, and he was soon hissself agen. "Really!" he says, "I never met nobody as know'd more'n the talk nor what you do, Wester. I must tell Mr. Burrow about you," he says, "for I'm sure as he'd like to hear you. But mind," he says, "he's a *lil-kederer*, and he'll have you into a book if you don't watch out."

Groome duly communicated his discovery to Borrow,¹ who next day visited Notting Hill, where he inquired for Wester from

¹ Groome first met Borrow at Ascot in June 1872, and saw him twice subsequently, at his house in Hereford Square, Brompton, 'nearly a twelvemonth afterwards,' and 'in the tent of our common acquaintance, Shadrach Herne, at the Potteries, Notting Hill.' Vide the *Bookman*, Feb. 1893. Cf. Mrs. E. R. Pennell's *Charles Godfrey Leland* (London, 1906), vol. ii. pp. 140, 148.

Shēdi Hearn, an old acquaintance of his, it seems. 'I sin him coming over to me,' Wester would say; 'a very big gentleman; seventeen stone he'd be if he was a pound. "*Sar šan, bor*," he says, and he grips my hand like in a vice. Then he begun *roking*, and I could tell as he know'd the language, though he hadn't got it not to say natural-like same as young Mr. Groomebridge had. And every now and agen, I noticed, he'd put in bits o' the double-talk [inflected Romani], like Wester Boswell, and them Hearn and Youngs as used to come up from Norfolk and Suffolk; which we never had none of in our family, only flat-talk, though my Aunt Lucy al'ays said as she could tell 'em ten words as they didn't know for every one what they could tell her. I didn't say nothink at first; just answered "yes" or "no." Then this Mr. Burrow, he begun axing me words, and I towld him all what he axed me. He seemed a bit surprised, 'cause they was deep words, mind, what everybody didn't know. And after a while I come out wi' one word—I forget what it was now—as fair took his breath away. "Well!" he says, "I didn't think ther was a man in England of your age in life as know'd that word." "That's nothink," I says, "that word ain't"; and I just plugged it into him for five minutes. "Will you come round to my chambers," he says, and he give an address—somewhere near Oxford Street I think it was. "No, I won't," I says; and no more I wouldn't whatever he said. "I never go out 'n my way to see a gentleman on business o' this sort," I says, "but if he likes to come and find me out he's welcome." He did come, once or twice, whiles I was at Notting Hill, but I never sin him agen after that. Mr. Chatterfield¹ showed me his book (*Romano Lavo-Lil*, published in the spring of 1874), and Jack's got it up into his van now. From what they tell me, though, he's mixed up our talk wi' mumpers' *lavyš*, what he must have had off owld Shēdi and them.'

Wester was better acquainted with George Smith of Coalville, whose 'good Christian women,' Mrs. Simpson and Mrs. Eastwood, were his *nugi peniš*, Emily and Flōri. But somehow he had obtained an entirely wrong impression of this very zealous man. 'More like a *ptřdo* he was when he first come out; never a pair o' decent shoes to his feet, and his clothes al'ays in rags. I give him a pound o' soap one day to wash hissself with, for the dirt on the man was a

¹ Presumably R. E. Chatfield, who wrote an article entitled 'The English Gipsies' in the *Theosophical Review*, April 1899. Borrow, it may be remarked, ceased to reside in London in 1874.

sight to make anybody ashamed; and more 'an once I've gi'n him a *poš-bar* to pay his railway journey home. His wife reloed him so much money, but he used to get drinking it them days; and then he 'd come begging to us, saying as how he wanted money for to provide schools for the children.' Libellous as these statements are, Smith himself seems to have equalled them on a memorable occasion when he was allowed to address a meeting of the Van Dwellers' Protection Association, of which Wester was a founder and leader. At any rate, he roused his audience to such a pitch of fury that they attacked him with tent-poles and other ugly implements; and had not 'Dob,' who was respected both as a fighting man and as a champion of the van-dwellers' cause, intervened in the nick of time he would have gone there and then to 'the great unknown and unseen world of *Tátto padni* (spirits) from whence no *choórodo* (tramp) returns.'¹ Out of gratitude, perhaps, or maybe from sheer folly, Smith, 'when he 'd pushed his way up a bit,' introduced Wester to the Lobby of the House of Commons, there to refute his own lying assertions about Gypsy ignorance, squalor, and vice. 'Ther was lots o' real gentlemen there,' said Wester, 'and after when they 'd listened to us both, and put some questions to us, they know'd which it was as was speaking the truth, and they didn't have no more to do wi' Smith.'²

Shorter lists of words have been obtained from various relatives of Wester's: by the Honorary Secretary from his son, Jack [J. Lee], and his daughter, Polly [P. Lee]; his brother Jack's son, Walter [Walt. Lee], whose mother, 'Raia Lee of Brighton, a daughter of Isaac Lee, was first cousin to her husband; Alfred or Orphurus Lee [A. Lee], a son by Bairance Lee of 'Raia's brother, Alfred or Orphurus; Sinaminti Lee [S. Lee] of Herne Bay, only known daughter of Wester's uncle, Tom Lee—a very aged woman, born *circa* 1824; Edgar Lee [Edg. Lee], son of Sinaminti by another Tom Lee, identified by some Gypsies as Tom, son of Joseph, *alias* Titsum, Lee; and Jim Emmet [J. Emmet], whose mother, Elvaina Lee, Wester counted a kinswoman: by Mr. Bartlett from Edmund Lee [Edm. Lee], a brother of Walter:

¹ George Smith, *I've been a Gipsying* (London, 1881), p. 197.

² Cf. *J.G.L.S.*, O.S., ii. 191 (extract from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 9, 1890). The Gypsy man and woman belonging to the Lee family whose presence in the House of Commons with George Smith is referred to were Mrs. Simpson and one of her sons, according to Wester, in whom we may recognise the man's uncle, who is there said to have 'saved Mr. Smith's life at a critical moment, when another Gypsy was about to "bash" in his head with a tent-pole.'

by the Editor from Frank Lee [F. Lee], who claimed to be a son of Wester Lee, another brother of Walter, and of Lavinia Smith, one of the 'Dads and Mums,' and to have been brought up by his grandparents, Jack and 'Raia; and from Belcher Lee [B. Lee (2)], a son of 'Raia's brother, Hezekiah, when he paid a visit with a large party of Lees and their kindred to Oxford in 1913. Words referred vaguely to 'some Lees' or 'other Lees' were heard either from this party or from a miscellaneous company of Lees, consisting largely of Hezekiah's children, seen at Epsom, where the Honorary Treasurer and Editor also found two more of Wester's kindred—Nelson Lee [N. Lee], a grandson of his brother, Moses, and an enormously stout Jack Lee [J. Lee (2)], married to one of the 'rat-catching' Lees, of whom Démon was the best-known representative.

We are indebted to the Rev. L. Pullan for a short but valuable list of words collected about 1881 from London Lees, including Wester [W. Lee (P.)]. As the names of his other authorities were not recorded, the words from them are marked 'Lee (P.)' or 'Lees (P.)' Possibly they came from Wester's kin.

There are, however, other Lees about London, many of whom may be found at Epsom during the Derby week. Here the Honorary Treasurer and Editor saw 'blind' Davy Lee [D. Lee], a son of 'fighting' Saki and grandson of David Lee and Sophia Stanley; his first cousin, Zachariah, always known as Parafin Lee [Par. Lee], probably son of Jim Lee and Barbara Rossiter; and his nephew, Belcher [B. Lee], nearly as old as his uncles, who are both over eighty. These are members of a family of Epping Forest Lees, to which Charlotte, wife of 'Fighting' Jack Cooper—an aunt of Davy—belonged. Vanslo Lee [V. Lee], from whom the Treasurer obtained a few words some years ago, appears to be connected with this family, though his exact connection is not known.

To the Lees, too, perhaps one may count the only Barton [— Barton] mentioned, as the Bartons are probably a *poš rat* offshoot of one of the Lee families. Certainly he was connected with them by marriage, his wife being a daughter of an Emmet and of Elizabeth (Lidi), sister to Hezekiah Lee.

Some words from Kentish Scamps appear in our vocabulary as a result of interviews in 1910 and 1911 by the Honorary Secretary with a sexagenarian Riley Scamp [R. Scamp] at Ramsgate, his sons, Matthew and Sydney [M. and S. Scamp], at Selling near Faversham, and his cousin, George [G. Scamp], at Canterbury.

The male parents of Riley and of George were respectively Riley Scamp, who married a Mathers (a half-blood Lee), and died at Ramsgate in 1902 or 1903, and his brother Jack, who in later life resided first at Margate and then at Canterbury; whilst their father again was the Jack Scamp buried at Ramsgate *circa* 1865, and his father another Jack Scamp who is said to have been 99 when he died at Ramsgate eight years earlier. Of our informants, Riley, like Walter and Edmund Lee, had travelled widely—he persisted in trying to pass off Welsh as Romani—and his sons, Matthew and Sydney, were encountered on the roads; but George, whose Romani was the better, had been settled a long while.

The London-side Boswells, represented among our authorities by Jack [J. Boswell], Agnes, wife of Frank Buckley [A. Buckley], and Mēzi or Mizelli whose husband is a gorgio [M. French], are distantly akin to the Scamps, for their ancestor in the male line, Abel, son of Shadrach Boswell and Cinderella Wood, the latter of whom kept the Fountain Inn, Southwark, round about 1790-1800,¹ married Lucy Scamp, a sister, it is alleged, of the earliest of the Jacks mentioned above. Abel and Lucy had at least six sons: Plato, Levi, Allen, and Zachariah, who have left descendants in the London area, and Riley and 'Bias, one or both of whom migrated to South Wales. Jack, who is responsible for most of the Boswell words noted, was a son of Zachariah by Justinia Deighton; and Agnes, a daughter of Levi by Mary, *alias* Richenda, Lee; whilst Mēzi is descended from Plato, and also from Allen, whose daughter, Mizelli, by his cousin, Delēta Boswell, sister to Wester, was one of Plato's wives. The Honorary Secretary and the Honorary Treasurer recorded these Boswell words; from Jack on Plumstead Marsh in 1910, and from Agnes Buckley and Mēzi French in other parts of London during the same year. The unnamed Boswell [— Boswell], from whom two words were recorded later, was probably a son of Jack, as he was nephew to the Levi whose funeral has been noticed in most newspapers recently, and this Levi was a brother of Jack.

There were in 1910 a goodly number of van and tent-dwellers on the Thames marshes near Plumstead, as there are to-day

¹ It was then known as the Gypsies' Inn, said Saiki Heron, and was a great gathering ground for Gypsies during the winter months. Innkeeping runs in this family. Manful Boswell, son of Shadrach and Cinderella, kept the Fitzwilliam Inn on Sheffield Moor before he emigrated to America; and a great-grandson of theirs left Blackpool to become a *kicimeygro* in Workington.

a little further out, between Abbey Wood and Erith, where Jack, who was an unmistakable Boswell in appearance, and a magnificent talker, died a year or two ago; and many of them—Boswells, Lees, and Deightons for the most part—crowded round to hear the game of ‘What’s the Romani for this?’ and ‘What does so and so mean?’ played as one likes it to be, fast and furious, and with a plenitude of merry quips and mock-serious badinage. None of them contributed anything memorable, however, until a tall man of middle age, who spoke of Lee progenitors, and of his mother being a pure bred Stanley, and whose name was given subsequently as Tom Oadley [T. Oadley], emerged from his tent primed with strange words, four or five of which will be found in our list. Precisely who he was has not been ascertained, for apparently he is not a grandson of the William Oadley who married Britannia, only daughter of Hairam Buckley and Peggy Lee, besides whom no possible Oadley ancestor has come to our notice, unless it is the unascertained male parent of Lidi and Alice Oadley, whose husbands, Isaiah and Sylvester, were two brothers belonging to the Birmingham Smith family. William Oadley’s family is represented here by a single word from his grand-daughter, Ōmi [O. Rhodes], who is married to a gorgio named Arthur Rhodes.

There are pleasanter spots in and around London than the Thames mud-flats, but even they are salubrious compared with the Notting Hill Gypsyry, which is located near Latimer Road in a warren of small tenements so closely packed together that little sun or air can penetrate. Here in 1910 the Honorary Secretary recorded a few words from John Lovell’s widow, Fanny Leatherlund [F. Lovell], daughter of Samuel Leatherlund and Charlotte Hearn; and one from the scanty store possessed by her cousin, Jack or Dusti Hearn [J. Hearn], only son of Charlotte’s sister, Ann, by an unknown man, probably a gorgio. Charlotte and Ann were sisters to Shēdi, and to Meshach, Christopher and Mézi Hearn, their father being Borrow’s Thomas Hearn,¹ and their mother, Fanny, a gorgio. Samuel Leatherlund, who had brothers, Thomas and William, and sisters, Elizabeth, Sarah, and Saborah (a half-sister only), was the eldest son of Thomas Hearn’s sister, Elizabeth, and of Joseph Leatherlund, a soldier; whilst Thomas and Elizabeth Hearn, who were chiefly remarkable for their longevity, were son and daughter of an earlier Thomas

¹ *Romano Lavo-Lil*, chapter on Thomas Herne.

Hearn, whose wife was a gorgio. Fanny Leatherlund, the only member of Samuel's family to escape drowning in the disaster that befell a party of hop-pickers near Hadlow, Kent, in 1853,¹ was born in 1831; a year or two earlier than Dusti Hearn, whose daughter Annie, it may be mentioned, achieved some sort of fame as an artist's model.

At the same place, Notting Hill, the Honorary Secretary and the Editor sampled the Romani spoken by Robert Smith [Rob. Smith], who was born about 1837, and died but recently; a man well worth visiting for his stories of Riley Boswell, Goosie Allen, and other celebrities, and because of the wealth of his genealogical information. Under pleasanter conditions, in the lanes round about Barnet, the Honorary Treasurer and the Editor noted a number of words from Render Smith [Ren. Smith], Robert's half-brother, who was four years his junior, and just outlived him; and one from Render's wife, Jemima Smith [J. Smith], a representative of the 'Dads and Mums,' so called because of their smallness. Render's father, Perun Smith, was a brother of Yoki Shūri, and a son of Elijah Smith and Sophia Chilcott; whilst his mother, Elizabeth Smith, was one of the three daughters Lavinia (Loli) Smith had by a man named White prior to her marriage with Dimiti Buckland the elder. Elizabeth was Robert's mother too, but his father was a bricklayer called Hopwood, with whom Elizabeth lived for a short time only. Another son of Perun and Elizabeth is 'One-Eyed Fighting Sammy' Smith [S. Smith], a well-known light-weight boxer at one time, from whom the Hon. Treasurer has obtained a few words. Sammy is two years younger than Render: and he and his mother are the 'Sam Smith' and 'old Liz Buckland' mentioned by Leland.² Both in her maiden days and after Perun's transportation Liz was generally known by her step-father's surname, Buckland. After Perun she lived first with Dick Cooper, son of 'Norwood' Sam—and it may be owing to this connection that Render knew the word *sakū*, otherwise only recorded from Matty Cooper and his family—and later with a Dick Watford.

The Smith family to which Perun and Shūri belonged is said to have drifted London way from the eastern counties, or the

¹ *Times*, Oct. 22, 24, 27, 1853. Cf. Sir Duncan Gibb, *Ultra Centenarian Longevity* (London, 1875), an offprint of an article appearing in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, July 1875.

² *The Gypsies*, pp. 127-8, 136-7, 154-8, 160.

East Midlands. Nevertheless, it was very much at home in the lower Thames valley almost a century ago. Elijah was transported for stealing a horse and a mare from Claremont House, Esher, during Princess, afterwards Queen, Victoria's residence there; a crime committed in company with Matty Cooper, then a mere stripling, whose complicity he stoutly, and effectively, denied at the trial.¹ His wife, Sophia, was settled at Kingston-on-Thames before 1837; and besides Shūri, commonly known as 'London' Shūri to northern and East Anglian Gypsies, and Delfi, whose husband, if she had one, is unrecorded, she had a daughter, Lidi, who married Robert Palmer, a gorgio from the country immediately to the west of Kingston, and one more daughter, Bella, whose *rom* was Nelson Cooper 'of Windsor Forest,' a kinsman of Matty's. Perun's alliance with Elizabeth Smith points to the same conclusion too; whilst as for Sophy's other sons, Tom, James, Robert, Sam, and Vainer, early death or transportation seems to have prevented them from finding wives.

Connected with these Smiths, but not akin to them, to our knowledge, is Solomon Deighton's wife, Patience Smith [P. Deighton], from whom the Honorary Secretary noted a few words at Mitcham in 1910; for her father, Cornelius, son of Joseph and Margaret Smith, and cousin to Ambrose, married Clara Heron or Boswell, Riley's sister, and therefore sister-in-law to *Yoki* Shūri; and Clara, with whom Cornelius eloped from an encampment near Old Windsor, was the mother of all his thirteen children.² Patience, perhaps, ought to be classed as an East Anglian Gypsy, but since her marriage she has generally been somewhere near London, and before that she was often there and thereabouts, her parents dividing their time mainly between the Home Counties, and East Anglia and the Fens. Moreover, Leshi Heron and Sēni Boss, her maternal grandparents, seem to have resorted to London very frequently in the winter months; which is hardly surprising, seeing that they were so closely related to Shadrach Boswell, whose wife's tenancy of the Fountain Inn, Southwark, has already been noticed.³ There is, then, some justification for

¹ Cf. Hall, *The Gypsy's Parson* (London, 1915), pp. 248-9, where the circumstances are related, but no names given.

² A list will be found in the *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 172, in Mr. Hall's article on Clara Heron, from which some of the facts cited are drawn. Following it is an edited reprint of the Romani vocabulary recorded by Samuel Roberts' daughters from Clara during her stay with them in Sheffield.

³ Leshi is said to have been partly brought up at the Fountain Inn by Cinderella,

counting Patience a London-side Gypsy, though whether it is sufficient or not is admittedly disputable.

Next to the Lees the Coopers are probably now the largest clan that haunts the neighbourhood of London; certainly they are the only family that rivals them in numbers at the gathering for the Derby week. Many of them are descended from Leland's friend, Matty Cooper, from whom the Hon. Treasurer recorded a few words years ago. Others of his family mentioned in our list are his eldest son, Dan [D. Cooper], and Amy [A. Cooper], wife of his son, Anselo, and herself a Sussex Smith by birth. Patience Cooper [P. Cooper], widow of another son, Sam Cooper, with her daughter, Genti Lee, contributed a few puzzling words when interviewed by the Hon. Treasurer some years ago.

Akin to Matty, though not descended from him, is the tiny bird-like Dick Cooper [R. Cooper], whose raucous voice is generally to be heard before one has spent many minutes on the Downs—at any rate in the neighbourhood of the *kilema*. He and his stout brother, Harry, since dead, who combined with him in running a refreshment tent, are sons of a Billy Cooper and an Ayres, and grandchildren of another Billy, first cousin to Matty, and of an Irishwoman named Kenney. In spite of his diminutive size Dick has maintained the reputation of the Coopers as fighting men by killing an opponent in fair fight. Another contributor, Billy 'Bundle' [W. Cooper], is son of Kunsaleti Hilton and Levi Cooper, who was another first cousin to Matty and apparently brother to old Billy, 'Norwood' Sam, and a Joe Cooper who was transported on a charge of garrotting, all these being children of a Jim Cooper.

The Lavinia Cooper [L. Cooper], from whom the Rev. G. Hall recorded a few words in 1910 at Mitcham, was probably a Lee by birth and possibly widow of Oliver, son of 'fighting' Jack Cooper. But this is not very certain; and the 'M. Cooper' who figures on our list is only dubiously connected with the Coopers, as the name was taken from his van-plate, which is no proof at all that it was his. The only certain things about him were that Nelson Lee claimed him as a cousin, and that he had travelled widely in America.

The members of these families—except the Smiths, who are and probably he was her husband's nephew. Sēni has been given by Gypsy authorities as a daughter of Shadraoh and Cinderella, but she had an *alias* Smith, and is more likely to have been their niece. This was the view held by Mr. Hall in 1916.

fairly recent incomers in this district—are the most easily recognisable Gypsies in England. One cannot test their Romani for many minutes without meeting a number of special words not found outside this district, e.g. *brāva*, *galivangestā*, *komakunya*, and listening to a heated discussion on the relative merits of *bombārās* and some form of *pugrās* as a word for a monkey. If they are Coopers, of Matty's family, they are sure to use the strange *sako* as a test word.

From those examples it will be seen that their vocabulary contains a number of inexplicable words, like *galivangestā*, and unrecorded Western European loan words, like *brāva*, to which *rūlias* and perhaps one or two other words may be added.

Another peculiarity of these Gypsies is their tendency to adopt English dialect and slang words and treat them as Romani: e.g. *brogs*, *buzō*, *pudj*, and *konk*, which is so fully assimilated as to have the genitival formation *konkesto* formed from it.

One may note, too, though it is not peculiar to this dialect and occurs here, as in most places, too irregularly for any conclusion to be drawn from it, that *ā* is preserved fairly frequently where it has been changed normally in Anglo-Romani to *ɔ̄* or *o*. This was very noticeable in the Romani of Bob Smith, who used it even in common words like *bāro*: but his brother Render used the ordinary forms.

The curious ending *-əl*, which has been noticed in Hants and Dorset, occurs here too in the words *čirikəl*, *marikəl*, *verikəl*, *staməl*, and *pobəl*. The first three suggest that this corruption started in the omission of the final vowel in words ending in *-lo*, *-li*, since they are merely clipped forms of *čiriklo*, *marikli*, and *verikli*: in *stamel* the *-l* might be explained as a corruption of *-n*. But in *pobəl* it has become a meaningless suffix, as it has further west.

Though the vocabulary of this dialect is comparatively large, grammatical forms and the sense of word formation are almost entirely lacking. Even Wester Lee, as will be seen in the vocabulary, makes a speciality of using *-engro* where it should be *-mengro* and *-mengro* when it should be *-engro*: and though born more than eighty years ago he did not recollect the use of 'double talk' by any of his family, nor did his elder relative, Sinaminti Lee, use any verbal inflections. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that only one real example of them has been recorded in the district:—*jind kek mandi asdr*, from J. Boswell. Wester's *tilda čib*, and

R. Smith's eccentric use of *dikta*, *šunta*, as verbal roots (e.g. you *dikta*) as well as imperatives, and the participles *gilo* from Wester, and *lino* from Alf. Lee and a Barton, are just worth noting. Substantives fare a little better: at any rate the plurals in *-a*, *-ō*, *-i* are fairly well preserved among the older Gypsies: e.g. *dana*, Lees (P.), *rukia*, J. Emmet: *bušō*, *čamyō*, *hevyō*, *kremiō*, *pivliō*, *wustō*, W. Lee: *gruviō*, Walt. Lee: *izyō*, Ren. Smith: *fōki*, *jobi*, W. Lee, *juvī*, R. Cooper: and the plur. in *-ari* is preserved in W. Lee's *mumpāli*.

But even these are sometimes misused for the singular—see *kunia*, *lenia*, and *sapiō* in the Vocabulary: or doubled by the addition of an 's,' e.g. *īdzōs*, *krupiōs*, from W. Lee.

The Voc. Pl. is preserved in *raili*, used for both plural and singular by Rob. Smith.

J. Boswell had a trick of using *-esti* where one would expect *-eski*: e.g. *bōlesti ful* and *rātesti bōlesti stādi*, 'a pig's nightcap'—whatever that may be.

In the pronominal declension the only one of the rarer forms recorded is *lati*, used both for 'to her' and 'to him' by Rob. Smith. But the rare *mo* and *to* have been heard from W. Lee in sentences quoted from his father and aunt, and *mini* from T. Oadley.

Accentuation on the final syllable is fairly frequent in the words heard from W. Lee and Rob. Smith.

VOCABULARY

adōi, there, O. Rhodes.

aiō, fingernails, W. Lee. [S. and C. *neiaw*.]

ambrol, pear, Ren. Smith, F. Lee. [S. and C., p. 158, *ambrol*: *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., ii. 2, *ambrō*.]

ander, bring, Rob. Smith. [S. and C. *and*.]

balans, 1 lb., W. Lee, distinguishing it from *bar*, £1. [S. and C. *bálans*, *bar*, one pound sterling.]

bar, *parni*, hailstone: *delin parni bars*, hailing, Ren. Smith. [S. and C. *bish'ning baúro bars*.]

barlestō, brick, P. Cooper.

barōnki, month, Lees (P.)

basamengri, nuts, Ren. Smith, N. Lee, M. Cooper; *bōlo basamengri*, pig nuts, Ren. Smith.

bavano, broken-winded horse, G. Scamp. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *bavano*, broken-winded. [S. and C. *bavéngro*, etc.]

- bavolo*, -li, rich, W. Lee, G. Scamp. For the loss of the *r* cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 211, *bivlŷ* (from Matty Cooper), 214, *bivlŷ*; and Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *bovalo*. [S. and C. *bárvalo*.]
- bavolyš*, lungs, W. Lee: *bavolengro muš*, consumptive, W. Lee, G. Scamp: 'Them Chilcotts was *bavolengri fōki*,' W. Lee. [S. and C. *bával*, wind.]
- bšlo mas*, pork, W. Lee, distinguishing it from *balovas*, bacon. [S. and C. *baúlesko-mas*, pork; *bálovás*, bacon.]
- bor-bšlo*, hedgehog—in common use.
- bedra*, pail, W. Lee (P.): *bedlo*, W. Lee: *bedlomengro*, cooper, man who sells pails: *Bedlomengri fōki*, the Coopers, W. Lee, who, however, on one occasion altered the form to *Pedlomengro* and connected it with *Petalomengro*. *Pedlomengro* is also recorded by Mr. Shaw from one of the Lees; and *bedrol* from a ms. vocabulary made by Leland. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil* (London, 1907), p. 186, *bedra*, and Irvine's *pitaree*, basket.
- beŋ*, coat, Walt. Lee. [S. and C. *bágarée*, waistcoat.]
- benglās*, devilish (adv.), in *benglās diking muš*, W. Lee. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 46, *béngales*.
- beš*, eight, W. Lee. A misuse of S. and C.'s *bish*, twenty.
- Beš-talé fōki*, Gypsies, W. Lee. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *Beshaley*, Stanley.
- bišená*, fever, W. Lee: *Bišená gav*, Faversham—locally pronounced as Feversham—W. Lee. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *bisheni*, the ague.
- bivin*, green (of meat), Lees (P.): *bīvaŋ čor*, B. Lee. [S. and C. *biván*, raw.]
- bokenča*, sheep, S. Lee. [S. and C. *bókocho*, lamb.]
- bokās*, goat, W. Lee. Cf. Irvine's *bokroo*, goat, and S. and C. *Lávines-bókro*. But it may be a loan-word from German 'Bock' or French 'bouc,' as it has the loan termination -əs.
- bombārəs* (1) lion, Walt. Lee and some other Lees: *bombōrəs*, N. and P. Lee, A. Buckley, J. Boswell: *bombardəs*, S. and M. Scamp: *bōro bombārəs*, F. Lee. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, ii. 179.
- (2) monkey, F. Lee and some other Lees: *bumbārəs*, Lees (P.), given as a correction for *pukasāsa*, used by some of the younger people. [S. and C. *búmbaros*, monkey.]
- bōsanbtsenáli*, *bšsanbisenali*, dear me! W. Lee. Dr. Sampson

suggests that this may be a very corrupt form of the Welsh Romani *boše* (or *boškē*) *čavale*.

bostardo, saddle, R. Scamp. A confusion of *bošta* and *solivardo*.

boš, luck, in *wafodu bosh*, from a nephew of Walter Lee (W. Omer-Cooper, *The Fishing Village*, Bournemouth, 1917, p. 50).

boš, trouble, bother, J. Hearn. Possibly the last word used to translate a 'row': or a confusion of *boš* and *duš*.

bošer, bark, the *jukel*'s *bošerin*, W. Lee. [S. and C. *bosh*.]

bov, stove, Rob. Smith, quoting his grandmother Lavinia (Loli) Buckland: *bo*, Lee (P.). Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil* (1907), p. 219, *bo*, and *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 74, *bōv*; N.S., ii. 174, *bouv*.

brāva, good, true, fine, genuine, reliable, Lees and J. Boswell: *brāvo*, *barvo*, M. French: *brāvi*, — Boswell. E.g. *brāva bok*; *brāva rakli*, W. Lee: *sō mandī's rokerapen*, *sō si brāva lavō*, J. Boswell. Cf. German 'brav,' Fr. 'brave,' Ital. 'bravo,' and Welsh Romani *bravo*.

brōgs, trousers, F. Lee. [S. and C. *brógies*.]

bukalo jukel, wolf, W. Lee. [S. and C. *bókalo*, hungry; *jókel*, dog.]

bulakē, skewer, P. Cooper. Presumably a corruption of *busaha*. Cf. *busō* below.

bánjeno, conceited, Lees (P.). [S. and C. *boóino*.]

busō, spurs, W. Lee. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., i. 191: Third Series, ii. 180. [S. and C. *bissio*.] Cf. *bulakē* and *puštis*.

bušō, fly, Walt. Lee: *buzō*, B. Lee: *wuzō*, fly, *rāti wuzō*, glow-worm, W. Lee: *wužōl*, W. Lee (P.). Probably Engl. dialect 'buzzard.'

čam, leather, Walt. Lee; skin, W. Lee; *čamyō*, cheeks, Lees (P.), W. Lee; *čamyō bal*, beard, W. Lee. [S. and C. *cham*.]

čāro, plate, G. Scamp. [S. and C. *chóro*, etc.]

čarver, futuere, Ren. Smith. 'Chauver,' as Dr. Sampson points out, occurs in old cant in this sense. But *čarver* may be a form of *čorava* and S. and C.'s *chórda*.

čater, touch, Lee (P.), in the following lullaby:—

Šūn tu kon,

mō tuti ruv,

tuti's dukerin dai vel kere.

Jal abri, tu kōlo muš.

Mō čater mandī's čābo. [S. and C. *chára*.]

čuti, daughter, child, F. Lovell. A curious misuse of the Dative *čati* (= *čaiati*) for the Nominative.

čikai, cherries, Ren. Smith.

- ĕikni biti ĕavi*, tiny, poor, little child, Rob. Smith. Cf. Borrow's *Tawno Chikno*. [S. and C. *tíkno*.]
- ĕirikəl*, small bird, F. Lee, who uses *pinikē* for a large bird; *bubi ĕiriklo*, plover (peewit): *bubi kōri ĕiriklo*, peacock, Ren. Smith; *kōlo pōno ĕiriklo*, magpie, some Lees; *roking ĕiliko*, magpie, W. Lee; *rāti giliing ĕiliko*, nightingale, W. Lee; *loovo chiriclo*, partridge, Ambrose Scamp (W. Omer-Cooper, p. 51); *ĕiliko fōki*, the Hearn, W. Lee. [S. and C. *chiriklo*.]
- ĕōfa*, coat, S. and M. Scamp. Cf. Irvine's *chof*, *chofoo*, *chofo*. [S. and C. *chōkka*, etc.]
- ĕokengro*, policeman, Lees (P.): *ĕokengro sastās*, handcuffs, W. Lee. [S. and C. *chukkēngro*, policeman; *sāster*, iron.]
- ĕonga rokunyas*, knee breeches, W. Lee; *ĕonga skrūnis*, top boots, W. Lee. [S. and C. *chong*, knee.]
- ĕūm*, moon, P. Lee: *kim*, Walt. Lee. [S. and C. *chein*, *choom*, etc.]
- ĕūmering fōki*, Boswells, W. Lee. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *Choomo-mengro*.
- ĕuŋga*, hill, Walt. Lee. [S. and C. *choómba*, *choóngā*, etc.]
- ĕuvani*, poor, W. Lee; *ĕavano*, Rob. Smith and others. [S. and C. *chúveno*, *choóreno*, etc.]
- ĕuvani kēr*, workhouse, W. Lee; *ĕuveno butsiin kēr*, Lees (P.).
- ĕuvani giv*, rye, W. Lee.
- deš*, seven, W. Lee. [S. and C. *desh*, ten.]
- diklo*, shawl (not 'handkerchief'), W. Lee, J. Boswell, Lees (P.). [S. and C. *diklo*, handkerchief, necktie, etc.]
- divesəs*, day, D. Lee. [S. and C. *dívvus*.]
- dolaspər*, star, Ren. Smith. Perhaps a misremembered *dola stari*, 'those stars.' Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 186, *starrie*.
- dōri*, rope, W. Lee, distinguishing it from *šelo*, thread. [S. and C. *doóri*, string; *shélo*, rope.]
- dowen*, see *duriev*.
- drəm*, road, F. Lee. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 215, *drām* (from Mrs. Cooper), ix. 176, *drum* (Norwood Gs.): *drom pukerimengro*, sign-post, P. Deighton. [S. and C. *drom*, and *poóking kosht*.]
- dril*, berry (pl. *drilyō*), *kōlo dril*, blackberry, *papeni dril*, gooseberry, W. Lee. [S. and C. *dúril*, gooseberry, *drillaw*, berries: Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *durriel*, berry.]
- drin*, three, W. Lee. [S. and C. *trin*.]
- dud*, milk, F. Lee. [S. and C. *tood*.]
- dūk grai*, mangy horse, Ren. Smith.

- duriev*, sea, Lees (P.); *dūiyev*, *dūihev*, W. Lee; *bōri dūihevs*, D. Cooper; *dowen*, Ren. Smith. [S. and C. *doriśv*, *doyáv*: Leland, *English G. Songs*, *dūiyav*.]
- duštopen*, bother, Edg. Lee. [S. and C. *doosh*.]
- duvél*, *juvél*, God, Rob. Smith. [S. and C. *doóvel*.]
- duvəlesti gēri*, pious woman, W. Lee. [S. and C. *mi-dūveléski gairé*, saints.]
- duvni lavia*, broken words, Rob. Smith. Cf. Leland, *English Gs.*, p. 130, *dubeni* or *dub'na*, doubtful.
- engro*, *mengro*, policeman, used by *poš*-rats. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 311.
- ērengros*, leggings, W. Lee. [S. and C. *hérengries*.]
- Foros*, *Bōro*, London, Lees (P.).
- fulafās*, gloves, W. and J. Lee. [S. and C. *follasé*, etc.]
- gadəngri*, smock frock, Lees (P.).
- galivangasta* (-*tā*), ditch, J. Boswell, some Lees; *galivangustā*, V. Lee, M. French; *gastā*, F. Lee; *bōri galivangastā*, B. Lee (2). *bōri galivangasta*, river, J. Boswell; sea, some Lees. *bōri galivagastā*, ditch, river, F. Lee.
- The Karači word *galamyn*, well (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 328), can hardly be related.
- garuves*, secretly, Rob. Smith. [S. and C. *gáridnes*, *gárones*.]
- gaurini*, see *gruvno*.
- gavəs*, town, D. Lee; *gav muš*, town crier, A. Lee. [S. and C. *gav*.]
- gərlo* or *gālo*, cherry, T. Oadley. Cf. perhaps *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ix. 179, *kero*, and O.S., iii. 76, *kēra*: or S. and C.'s *dúril* corrupted. Paspatis's *gulo*, 'eyeball, grape seed,' is hardly likely.
- gin*, count, W. Lee; *kiner*, S. Lee. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *gin*. [S. and C. *ghínjer*, *ghínya*.]
- giv*, snow, B. Lee (2). [S. and C. *iv*, *ghiv*, etc.]
- goraben*, thunder, Lees (P.); *gūriben*, W. Lee, F. Lee; *gorunda*, P. Lee. Cf. Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 12, *gūriben*, from W. Lee: Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *grommena*, *grovena*, *grubbenā*: *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 76, *gūrmī*. *Gorunda* is probably due to assimilation with 'thunder.'
- grafni*, nail, Edg. Lee, who distinguishes it from *krafni*, button. [S. and C. *kraáfni*, *kráfni*, nail, button.]
- grista*, horse, W. Lee, who also used *grai* and *grasni*; *grista čokəs*, horseshoes, W. Lee. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *grestur*, *gristur*, horse. [*J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 46, *grésta*, mare, and S. and C. *grésti*, mayor.]

gruvno, bull, W. Lee; *gruviš*, bull, *gruveni*, cow, Walt. Lee; *gaurini*, cow, F. Lee. [S. and C. *grōv*, bull: *groóvni*, cow: Way, No. 747, p. 197, *gruveno*.]

haier, understand, Rob. Smith. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 46, *heiaová*.

hank, well, Edg. Lee. [S. and C. *hánik*.]

hev, moon, M. Cooper; glass, Lees (P.); *heviš*, windows, W. Lee; *hevo košt*, ridge-pole, Ren. Smith. With the first cf. *hev*, heaven, Leland, *English G. Songs*. [S. and C. *hev*, hole, window.]

honj, itch, F. Lee; *onj*, Lees (P.). [S. and C. *honj*.]

hora, egg, F. Lee. [S. and C. *yóro*.]

hunlo, publican, landlord, W. Lee. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil* and Way, No. 747, p. 38, *hanlo*. [S. and C. *hóleno*.]

īdzēs, clothes, W. Lee; *īžyš*, Rob. Smith. With the first cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 76, *idza*; N.S., ix. 195, *īdzas*. [S. and C. *ēzaw*.]

jelifa, apron, F. Lovell. For the 'l' cf. Leland, *English Gs.*, 66, *jellico*. [S. and C. *járifa*, etc.]

jobi, oats, W. Lee. [S. and C. *job*.]

jompæræs, toad, *pāni jompæræs*, frog, G. Scamp. [S. and C. *jámba*, *jómbe*: *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., ii. 3, *jombári*.]

jon, know, W. Lee. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 79: Third Series, ii. 174, 182. [S. and C. *jin*.]

juv, bug, F. Lee, a fairly common form; *juvt*, lice, R. Cooper. [S. and C. *joóva*.]

juvél, see *duvél*.

kak, tongue, B. Lee.

kal, green-stuff, cabbage, F. Lee. English 'kail.'

kambri, with child, Rob. Smith. Cf. Borrow, *Romany Rye*, ch. vii.: *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 157. [S. and C. *kaáfni*.]

kam, sun, P. and Walt. Lee, M. Cooper; *kem*, L. Cooper. [S. and C. *kam*.]

kām, love, F. Lee; *kam*, W. Lee; *Kamlo fōki*, Lovells, W. Lee. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *cam*, *Camlo*. [S. and C. *kom*, *Kómelo*.]

kanarvis, see *konāfi*.

karakter, thunder, Ren. Smith. Perhaps from English 'crack': but the form is odd.

kašni, orchard, J. Boswell. Formed from *kašt*. [S. and C. *kosht*.] Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 215, *Kóshnř-tēm* (from Mrs. Cooper).

katūn or *katūm*, tent, Matty Cooper. Cf. Paspatis, *Etudes*, 273,

katúna. The word is found also in French and Welsh Romani. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 248.

kavi koštōs, wooden tripod for kettle, W. Lee.

kōlo rōni, turkey: *kōlo kani*, black hen, W. Lee. [S. and C. *kaūli-raūni*, turkey.]

kōlo muleno grais, horses for a hearse, *mulo kōlo grais*, dead black horses, W. Lee.

kōlengros, blackberries, Walt. Lee, P. Cooper.

kōlomengro, smith, S. Smith. [S. and C. *kaūloméskro*, black-smith.]

kōr, filch: *kōromengro*, filcher, W. Lee, who explained that it was used especially of stealing coins or ribbons from a shop in an artful way. Gypsies would give £4 or £5 for obsolete five-crown pieces, and then would ask shopkeepers if they had similar coins, offering more than their value for them; and, if allowed to search the till for them, would palm other coins. Ribbons were stolen because at one time they were very expensive.¹

keder, pick (hops), Edg. Lee—a fairly common use; *tedereng konlis*, F. Lovell. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *kidda*: *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., ii. 80, *kedi*.

lil-kederer, W. Lee, of George Borrow.

kesi, necklace, G. Scamp.

ket rik, off side of a horse, opposite to *poš rik*, G. Scamp. Perhaps a form of *katar*, 'from,' for which cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 46.

ketenes, safely, Rob. Smith. [S. and C. *kétanes*, together.]

kəra, tin, Walt. Lee. [S. and C. *kurri*.]

¹ For *ķring* as applied to coins cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*; Way, No. 747, pp. 104, 118; *Memoirs of Vidocq . . . translated from the French* (London, 1828-9), vols. i. 57, 62-3; iv. 189-94, referring to Wallachian Gypsies in France and Belgium; Dillmann, *Zigeuner-Buch* (München), pp. 44, 45, a Gypsy who earns his living 'durch betrügerischen Handel mit alten Münzen'; and the prosecution of two French Gypsy women for the same practice in London (*Morning Advertiser*, Feb. 7, 1911). Of stealing ribbons there is less evidence; but in July 1791 a gang of Gypsies was arrested near Reading on suspicion of a burglary at Tilehurst. 'Upon searching them several bridles and saddles were found, as also several rolls of different coloured ribbons,' a colt, and a letter implying that another of the party was in prison for horse-stealing. A boy aged fourteen said the burglary was committed by two persons of the name of Thompson (now a *poš-rat* name in Hampshire), whom they were to meet in Kent and there share the booty. (*Reading Mercury*, July 11, 1791.) As Kent is the home of the Scamps, it is probable that William Boswell and Charles Scamp who were sentenced to seven years' transportation for stealing five rolls of ribboning at Worcester Assizes a month later, and perhaps also Selette Guest, who received the same sentence at the same time and place for stealing eight aprons and several other articles, belonged to this band. (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, August 13, 1791.)

kim, see *čūm*.

kiner, see *gin*.

Kočado Košt, Burnt Ash (station), Walt. Lee. [S. and C. *hótchedo*, burnt, and *káchar*, to burn.]

kogisamengri, squirrel, R. Scamp.

komakunya, mouse, F., P., and Walt. Lee, M. and S. Scamp. In an unpublished ms. vocabulary, seen by Mr. Shaw some years ago, Leland compares 'Portuguese, komadungo': but no such word appears in Portuguese dictionaries, though there is a Spanish word 'comadreja, weasel.' Dr. Sampson has recorded it in the form *komakunsas*.

komorəs, parlour, W. Lee; *komoro*, room, chamber, parlour, Lees (P.). With the first cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *comorrus*. [S. and C. *kamóra*.]

konāfi, turnip, *krafni*, swede, Ren. Smith; *kanarvis*, turnips, W. Lee. [S. and C. *konáfni*.]

konkesto, handkerchief, J. Boswell. Formed from the slang 'konk.'

konlis, hops, F. Lovell. Condemned by Cornelius Fenner, who knew it in the form *konglās*, as 'not a *tačo lav*.'

konagri, matches, Edg. Lee; *konǵāl*, F. Lee; *konǵāli*, S. Smith. From the shape of early matches, which were joined together so as to resemble a comb.

krafni, see *grafni* and *konāfi*.

krali, king, *kralisi*, queen, W. Lee. [S. and C. *krális*, *kralist*.]

kremiō, worms, W. Lee. [S. and C. *kérmo*: Way, No. 747, p. 114, *creminor*.]

krūč, frog, Ren. Smith; *krutza* or *kroitza*, T. Oadley; *drab krūč*, toad, Ren. Smith. Hardly a bad corruption of the Russian *kvakúcha* (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 201) or Rumanian 'broița.'

krupiōs, stays, W. Lee. [S. and C. *troópia*.]

kuči, bit; in *ač a kuči*, used by F. Lee for 'wait a bit,' 'stop here,' 'keep quiet.' [S. and C. *koósi*.]

kukalo, to-morrow, W. Lee. [S. and C's. *kólíko* metathesized.]

kuko, uncle, Rob. Smith. [S. and C. *kóko*.]

kunia, elbow, W. Lee. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 47, *koonya*, knees. But 'elbow' is the correct meaning; cf. Mikl. viii. 88.

kurado, blind, W. Lee. [S. and C. *kóredo*, etc.]

kurlo, throat, W. Lee. [S. and C. *gur*, *kur*, *kárlo*: Way, No. 747, pp. 324, 333, *gurlo*.]

kuromengro, potter, W. Lee. [S. and C. *koréngro*.]

- kušni*, basket, W. Lee: and Ren. Smith, who uses *trušni* for 'faggot.' [S. and C. *toóshni*, *kúshni*, etc. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 211, *kúshñě*, from Matty Cooper.]
- kuvli gēri*, mad woman, innocent, W. Lee. Cf. Way, *No. 747*, p. 220, *kovo*, and *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 76: Third Series, ii. 183.
- kwisbi*, wool: in *bokra's kwisbi*, T. Oadley, corrected to *bokresti kwisbi*, by J. Boswell. Probably slang rather than a corruption of Rumanian *koaže*, skin (Mikl., i. 18). The normal *pušum* is used, but not commonly, in this district according to Mr. Shaw.
- lač*, get: e.g. *kek tuti lač adrē tug*, W. Lee. [S. and C. *latch*, find.]
- leniā*, river, W. Lee. Probably plur. for sing.: but cf. Welsh *G. lena* as well as *len*. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil* (1907), p. 172, *len*, and *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 77.
- linai*, summer, W. Lee. [S. and C. *lilet*; *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 176, *lini*.]
- lok*, shadow, heard by Mr. Shaw years ago. Cf. Leland, *English G. Songs*, *lock*, and Way, *No. 747*, p. 197. [Cf. S. and C. *lóko*, light (of weight).]
- lulšben*, lodging, T. Oadley. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., i. 191: Third Series, ii. 184. [S. and C. *loódopen*.]
- lunda*, see *maluna*.
- lūr*, obtain money by the *hokhano baro* trick, F. Lee. [S. and C. *loor*, rob.]
- lumnə*, money, F. Lee. [S. and C. *loóvo*, *lúva*.]
- mačika*, fish, F. Lee. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 13, *machko* and viii. 50, *matchko*. [S. and C. *mácho*.]
- mačimengro pāni jukəl*, otter, W. Lee.
- mačiko*, cat, F. Lee. Cf. Irvine's *machuku*. [S. and C. *máčhka*.]
- maklis*, beads, W. Lee; *menikas*, Lees (P.). With the first cf. *máklis*, *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ix. 199. [S. and C. *mérikli*.]
- maluna*, lightning, W. Lee; *maləna*, P. Lee; *lunda*, J. Lee. The latter probably by confusion with 'thunder.' Cf. Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 12, *malúna*, from W. Lee.
- manča*, cheer up, in *manča tu*, *mo dadus*, *manča tu*, *mi dai*, W. Lee, quoting his aunt Lucy. [S. and C. *mántchi*, *mántcha*.]
- marikəl*, cake, W. Lee. [S. and C. *márikli*.]
- mas-sasamengri*, frying-pan, J. Boswell; *mas-sastšmengri*, Ren. Smith. Probably S. and C.'s *tattermengri* or *tasserméngri* (*J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 48), corrupted by analogy with *saster*, as it is generally made of iron.

- mavi*, rabbit, W. Lee, who condemned it as 'cant.'
- mārimengri's čavi*, owl (lit. baker's daughter), Ren. Smith. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., i. 90, *mārengro's čāi*, and Leland, *English Gs.*, p. 16, *māromengro's čavi*.
- medsən*, bushel (of hops), W. Lee; *medsən*, J. Emmet. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *medisin*. Possibly a form of *meriča*, for which cf. Mikl., i. 23.
- mengro*, see *engro*.
- menikas*, see *makli*.
- Mesali gav*, Windsor (lit. table town), A. and W. Lee.
- mišto*, good, D. Lee: 'a very *mišto divesəs*.' [S. and C. *mišto*.]
- mo*, *mi*, *my*, W. Lee, quoting his aunt, cf. *manča supra*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 222, *mū*.
- molekó*, don't, Ren. Smith; really, is that so? W. Lee. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *malleco*, 'false'; Groome, *In G. Tents*, pp. 133, 151, *mollekó*, an ejaculation (not translated); *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 47, *móllako*, *mólliko*, false: N.S., ii. 176, *mau lako*, 'it is not so.'
- morengro*, razor, W. Lee, as well as *moromengro*. [S. and C. *móroméngro*.]
- motsi*, drunk; *motsimengro*, drunkard, Rob. Smith—the latter not an uncommon form. [S. and C. *móttö*, *móttoméngro*.]
- mukta*, skin bag, skin, W. Lee. [S. and C. *moótska*, *moótsi*.]
- mulengro*, glandered horse, G. Scamp. Possibly *limengro* (cf. Paspati, p. 336), badly corrupted.
- mulo*, ghost, *muli*, corpse, F. Lovell; *mulo mušengro*, hangman, Ren. Smith. See also under *kəlo*. [S. and C. *moólo*, dead: *moóle*, ghosts.]
- muleno dud*, lightning, Ren. Smith.
- mulodimengri*, coffin, W. Cooper.
- munjer*, poke, Ren. Smith. [S. and C. *moónjer*.]
- murs*, see *mužin*.
- mūtsis*, gloves, M. French. [S. and C. *moótsi*, skin.]
- muuli*, candle, G. Scamp. [S. and C. *múmbli*; *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 47, *moóvli*.]
- mužin*, sleeve: *murs*, arm, Lee (P.). Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *murces*, *mursior*, arms. [S. and C. *moóshi*, *moósho*, arm.]
- načo*, natural, in 'načo as life' applied to a photograph, J. Smith. A mixture of natural and *tačo*.
- našer*, forget, G. Scamp. [S. and C. *násher*, to lose.]

nugi tan, pleasant, cosy place, Rob. Smith. [S. and C. *nágo*, *nógo*, own.]

oču, 'a word of oppression,' used at the end of a sentence by one of the old Lees, e.g. *mandi lel'd a pošero* from the *rěni*, *oču*; *mandi'll poger tuti's nok*, *oču*, W. Lee. [S. and C. *hótč'ov*, he said, I said.]

ōfa, cap, W. Lee. [S. and C. *hoófa*.]

ōl, eight, known to W. Lee, who, however, knew that it really meant 'eat,' or 'ate.'

ovalas, stockings, W. Lee. By metathesis from *olivās*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ix. 162, *hoóvelah*; Way, No. 747, p. 106, *ovle*, blanket.

paflo, paper, J. Boswell, M. French. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 77, *papper*.

palō, *dūi*, cup and saucer, G. Scamp. Possibly a jocular formation: but cf. Irvine's *paloo*, cup, and perhaps Paspatis's *bali*, *pal*, *pel*.

pāmengris, turnips, W. Lee, who regarded *pā-* as an abbreviation of *parno*! Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *pahamengro*, and *povomingro* in the unpublished vocabulary of the Rev. S. Fox in Dr. Sampson's possession; and possibly *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 185, *poomingro*, peach. Mr. Macfie suggests that these may come from the root *parvar*, to feed, which is found in Eastern European Romani.

pandāpen, pound, pifold, G. Scamp. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, ii. 185; *poba pandomengro*, orchard, J. Boswell. [S. and C. *pāndoméngro*, pound.]

pānguši, handkerchief, Lees (P.) (Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 188, *panuigasha*; Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *pangushi*); *ponišni*, W. Lee. [S. and C. *póngdīshler*.]

pānin gōjo, sailor, Lees (P.). For the genitive in *-in* cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *weshen-juggal*, and *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 75, *dadēnpral*. [S. and C. *paanéngro-gaújo*.]

papin, duck: *papines*, wild duck: *parni papilas*, swan, Ren. Smith—the two latter apparently Acc. Sing. of the former! (Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 169 (Whiter), *pappin*, goose; *pappines*, turkey); *papeni*, goose, Walt. Lee; *patni*, J. Lee (2), Ren. Smith and other Smiths and Coopers. [S. and C. *pápin*, goose; *pápini*, duck.]

papeni dril, gooseberry, W. Lee; *papenengri*, Walt. Lee. [S. and C. *pápini-driláw*.]

- parak*, thank, W. Lee, Ren. Smith. But rare in this part. [S. and C. *párik*.]
- paramuši*, story, W. Lee, who also knew of its use for 'stars,' for which cf. Groome, *G. Folktales*, p. xxxiii. Cf. also Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 162; *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 77; N.S., ii. 177, *paramoosh*, dream.
- pās*, fun: *pās muš*, clown, W. Lee. An abbreviation of *paías*.
- patlin*, leaf, J. Boswell; *patni*, T. Oadley. [S. and C. *pátrin*, *pátin*.]
- pazorus*, you owe it to me, Lees (P.). [S. and C. *pázorus*, indebted.]
- pōnis*, flowers, W. Lee. [S. and C. *pórno*, white, flour.]
- pōnomengri*, garden, W. Lee.
- Pedlomengro*, see *bedra*.
- Petalomengro*, Smith, W. Lee. [S. and C. *Petaléngro*.]
- piko*, arm-hole, J. Lee; *pikis*, shoulder, W. Lee. [S. and C. *pikó*, etc.]
- pinikē*, large bird; *čirikēl*, small bird; *pōno kōlo rokering pinikē*, magpie, F. Lee. Possibly, as Mr. Macfie suggests, a corrupt form of *pinisteri*, dove, of which variants have been heard in England.
- pīomēs*, health (in a toast), W. Lee, quoting to *pīomēs* from his father Amos. [S. and C. *pīamus*.]
- pīomesti*, drunkard, W. Lee; *pīamēski*, Ren. Smith; *pīamōngri*, F. Lee.
- pīomengri*, tea, W. Lee: *pīameski*, Lees (P.). [S. and C. *pīaméngro*, drunkard; *pīaméskri*, tea.]
- pīro sastēs*, stirrups, W. Lee. [S. and C. *peéro*, foot; *sáster*, iron.]
- pivlioi*, nuts, cokernuts, Edm. and F. Lee, J. Boswell, A. Cooper; *pibliai*, Lees (P.); *pivliō*, A. and W. Lee. [S. and C. *pétliaw*, *pévliaw*.]
- planendi*, behind, W. Lee, e.g. *planendi* your *dumo*; *planendi pēr* (buttocks). [S. and C. *palál*, *pállani*.]
- plašta*, cloak; *ploχta*, bed covering, carpet, W. Lee. [S. and C. *pláshta*, *plóχta*, cloak, cloth.]
- pobal*, apple, — Boswell; *poba pandomengro*, see under *pandāpen*.
- poia*, stairs, Lees (P.). [S. and C. *poórdas*.]
- ponišni*, see *pānguši*.
- ponka*, match, J. Lee. From English 'spunk.' Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 47, *spóngo*; N.S., iii. 212, *sponks* (from Matty Cooper).

porapen, small change, S. Lee. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, ii. 186.

[S. and C. *púraben*, exchange.]

poris, eyelashes, D. Cooper. [S. and C. *por*, feather.]

pōro wudrəs, feather bed, W. Lee. [S. and C. *pórongro wúdrus*.]

porna, bacon, F. Lee.

poš maila, mule, J. Boswell. [S. and C. *posh grei ta posh meila*.]

praser, trust, P. Deighton. [S. and C. *pátser, pázer*.]

prasti, run, Lees (P.). Cf. Irvine's *prastee*. [S. and C. *práster, praáster*.]

pudj, soil, ground, W. and Walt. Lee, Ren. Smith. Possibly from Eng. dialect 'pug,' 'loam, clay,' or Romani *pošik*.

pudjengris, potatoes, Walt. Lee.

pudlomengros, bellows, W. Lee, as well as *pudamengros*. [S. and C. *poódaméngro*.]

pugrəs, pugerəs, monkey, P., N., and Walt. and other Lees, J. Boswell; *pukrəs*, S. and M. Scamp; *pukasása*, some Lees, corrected by others to *bumbārəs*, (P.). Cf. Leland, *The Gs.*, p. 23, *pugasah*, or *pukkus-asa*, from Tom Cooper; Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 84, where Leland's *pukkus-asa* is explained as English 'pug,' with the termination *-us* and *asár* added.

pūrikeno (-*keni*), old: *pūrikeni čavi*, grandchild, Rob. Smith. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 189, *pourouchau*. [S. and C. *poórokono*, ancient.]

Puro, Lee, Walt. Lee; *Puruv*, T. Oadley. [S. and C. *Poórum*.]

pusimengris, strawberries, Walt. Lee. Misformed from *pus*, straw.

puš, nine, W. Lee; *poš*, nigh, misused.

puštis, spurs, L. Cooper. Cf. Leland, *English G. Songs*, *pūsta*. [S. and L. *poshaári, poósoméngri*.]

putan, tender, W. Lee, Lee (P.); *put* is also used by W. Lee. [S. and C. *poó-h-tan*.]

putūs, snuff, W. Lee.

puv vardo, hen-house on wheels; *puv čining vardo*, plough, Par. Lee; *puv činamongri muš*, ploughman, F. Lee. [S. and C. *poóv-vardo, poóvo-čhtnoméngri*, plough.]

račeta, goose, *papin*, duck, Lees (P.); *rutza*, duck, Walt. Lee. With the first cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *ratcheta*. [S. and C. *rétza, rútsa*, duck.]

rafamyas, trousers, J. Emmet; *rāmis*, F. Lovell; *rokamyas*, Lees (P.), a common form. [S. and C. *rokéngries*, etc.]

Raiesto gav, Bury St. Edmunds, W. Lee.

- rōzano*, *rūzano*, frosty, frost, Ren. Smith. For *marozano*, cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 176, *maraze*, frost.
- rukamengresti pivliš*, squirrel's nuts, Alf. Lee. [S. and C. *roóka-méngro*, squirrel; *pévliaw*, nuts.]
- rukestamengro*, ploughman, N. Lee.
- rūlias*, wheels, Lees (P.), B. Lee; *rilišs*, W. Lee. Presumably French 'roue,' 'roulette.'
- rušni*, clean, P. Cooper, Ren. Smith. Cf. Leland, *English G. Songs*, *rūsh*, clean, *rūshnt*, bright, and *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ix. 205, *rājī*. All are corruptions of S. and C.'s *yoóso*.
- sako*, *sakū*, D. and O. Cooper, Ren. Smith. Cf. Leland, *The Gs.* p. 22, from Joshua Cooper.
- saleni dikin muš*, silly (lit. green) looking man, S. Lee; *sīden šuba*, a green gown, M. Cooper. Cf. Leland, *English G. Songs*, *selno*; *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 78; Third Series, ii. 186.
- sap*, soap, W. Lee. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 17, *sapa*. [S. and C. *sápin*.]
- sapiš*, snake, W. Lee. Plur. for Sing. [S. and C. *sap*, pl. *sápaw*.]
- sasamengri*, see *mas-sasamengri*.
- saskeni drom ěik būtiesti gēro*, navvy, J. Boswell.
- sekoča*, mountain, Walt. Lee, in *kim 'prē sekoča*, the moon on the mountain. Dr. Sampson compares *kočka* (Mikl., i. 17) with *koča*. For the prefixed *s* cf. English 'scrunch' from 'crunch,' and the form *skrias* for *krias* recorded from an Oxfordshire Smith; also *spanj* below.
- sīden*, see *saleni*.
- Simeni puro fōki*, Lees, W. Lee. From *zimeni purum* which has been recorded by the Hon. Sec. for 'leek.'
- sivimengri*, needle, R. Scamp; *sivisamengro*, J. Boswell. [S. and C. *soov*, *siv*, needle; *sivoméngro*, tailor.]
- skrūnis*, boots: *čonga skrūnis*, top boots, W. Lee. [S. and C. *skrúnya*.]
- so*, there: e.g. *so si a muš adrē the puv*, 'there is a man in the field,' J. Boswell, who also uses it correctly for 'what.'
- solivardis*, bridle, A. Lee (*bošta solivardis*, saddle and bridle): *solivasta*, sign-post, N. Lee,—apparently a mixture of the 'bridle' word and *vast*.
- sōv*, lie: e.g. *sōving in stariben ačing for šūnaben*, W. Lee. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 191, *sofe*, lie. Ren. Smith distinguished *sūv*, sleep, and *suv*, futuere: cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., iii. 78-9, *sōb* and *sūv*.

- šū*, futuere, Rob. Smith: cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *shauvo*, and *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 18, *shutur*, sleep.
- spanj*, five, W. Lee, a fairly common form. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ix. 206. [S. and C. *pandj*.]
- stādi*, stack, in *kas-stādi*, hay stack, F. Lee. [S. and C. *stúghi*.]
- stādo*, hat, F. Lee. [S. and C. *stāddi*, *stādi*.]
- stamel*, chair, F. Lovell. [S. and C. *skāmin*: for the *t* cf. German Romani *stammin*.]
- staromengro*, prisoner, J. Boswell; turnkey, T. Oadley. [S. and C. *'stéroméngro*, prisoner.]
- sturəb*, imprison, S. and M. Scamp. Misformed from *sturəben* rather than a survival of *starava*.
- stifo čš*, brother-in-law, J. Boswell. [S. and C. *stifo-pal*.]
- stingo*, gate, — Barton. [S. and C. *stigher*.]
- stor*, before, W. Lee; e.g. *stor* the *wudə*. [S. and C. *stor*, four.]
- sunk*, smell (subs.), W. Lee. [S. and C. *soong*.]
- šani*, mule, G. Scamp. [S. and C. *shāni*.]
- šanengro*, halter, W. Lee.
- šelo*, thread, W. Lee: see *dōri*; *sistō šelo*, chain, B. Lee.
- šeromengro*, halter, Ren. Smith. [S. and C. *sheréngro*, bridle.]
- šok*, corn, F. Lee. Presumably, as Dr. Sampson suggests, from the English 'shock of corn.'
- šū*, see *sōv*.
- šukár*! be quiet! W. Lee. [S. and C. *shookár*, quietly.]
- šukar košt*, dry wood, W. Lee. [S. and C. *shoóko*.]
- šuv*, six, W. Lee. [S. and C. *shov*.]
- ta*, and, W. Lee in *'jō ta 'jō*, so and so. [S. and C. *ta*.]
- tasēmengri*, man about to be hanged, J. Boswell; *tasēmengri muš*, hangman, Ren. Smith. [S. and C. *tásser*, to choke.]
- teder*, see *keder*.
- tasomengri*, lucifer matches, Ren. Smith. Perhaps for *tatomengri* (cf. *J. G. L. S.*, O.S., i. 48, *tasserméngri*, 'frying pan,' for the change of *t* to *s*).
- tipodē*, spite, W. Lee: e.g. *kova gēro* has *tipodē* against *mandi*. Cf. Borrow, *Lavo-Lil*, *tippoty*, 'malicious, spiteful.'
- to*, your, W. Lee, in *to pīoməs*, quoted from his father. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 224, *tš*; ii. 179; iv. 19, *te*. [S. and C. *tī*.]
- tonsəlin*, goose: *tuloben tonsəlin*, fat goose, T. Oadley. Hardly Ital. 'donzella' = 'damsel.'
- trad*, *lel*, take care, P. Deighton. [S. and C. *trad*.]

- tringuši*, shilling: *bar tringuši*, guinea, W. Lee. [S. and C. *trin-górishí*.]
trušni, see *kušni*.
tūl, hold, Lees (P.): *tuler*, to keep still, N. Lee. Cf. Leland, *English G. Songs*, *tool*, hold. [S. and C. *til*, hold.]
tustǝ, shadow, P. Cooper. Dr. Sampson suggests with diffidence that this may be connected with foreign Romani *vučál*, *učál*, this *utšal* becoming *tušal* and then being further corrupted.
tušlo, thirsty, W. Lee. [S. and C. *tráslo*, *troóshlo*.]
tut, *tud*, tender (of meat), F. Lee. Possibly = milky; or as *tatto*, soft, occurs in Fox's vocabulary, it may be 'hot,' 'cooked till it is tender.'
tuv, wash: *tūv*, smoke, F. Lee. [S. and C. *tōv* and *toov*.]
tuveŋgro, chimney-sweep, J. Emmet.
ūzt, heart, W. Lee, who translated the beginning of the Lord's Prayer by *ōra dad čuvion ūzt adrē the bōri kēr oprē* (lit. hour father witch heart in the big house above!). Cf. Welsh G. *ōzī*, and *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 211, *āzée* (from Matty Cooper). [S. and C. *zee*.]
vangar, coal, Rob. Smith. [S. and C. *vāngar*, *vóngar*.]
vōra, flour, G. Scamp. [S. and C. *vóro*.]
velgra, fair, W. Lee. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv. 19, *vail goro*. [S. and C. *walgarúrus*, etc.]
veniso, anything, P. Deighton. [S. and C. *vániso*.]
verikál, chain, W. Lee. [S. and C. *vériga*, *vériglo*.]
vongušt, bit, in *vongušt* of *tuvalo*, Ren. Smith. Common as *vongiš*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 215. [S. and C. *vóngusti*, finger.]
wonguštəs, tie, necktie, Walt. Lee, presumably because ties were at one time fastened by a ring.
wuster, throw, W. Lee. [S. and C. *woóser*, *woósher*.]
wušš, *wuzš*, see *bužš*.
wuštǝ, lips, W. Lee, a better form than S. and C.'s *wisht*.
yogeni ēik, lime, P. Cooper, Ren. Smith: lit. 'fiery dirt.'
yora, time, F. Lee. [S. and C. *ōra*, *yōra*.]

IV.—WITHERITE

By T. W. THOMPSON

IN 1909 Mr. John Myers¹ published convincing evidence that the *drab* formerly employed by some Gypsies to poison pigs was barium carbonate, obtained by them in its naturally-occurring crystalline form, witherite, of which he indicated one certain source of supply—the Snailbeach mine, near Minsterley in Shropshire. The mineral, which is usually pale yellowish-green in colour, and translucent, and has a waxy lustre and high density, was, he showed, first heated to produce decrepitation, and then powdered, before being used. As it appeared to be comparatively rare, and strictly localized in its occurrence, and as, moreover, Gypsies in eastern England were said by Borrow² to have purchased their *drab* from an apothecary, further inquiry seemed worth while, and has been undertaken, somewhat casually, with results summarized below.

From a large party of Gypsies with Smith, Price, Lock, and Wharton antecedents, who were hop-picking in Herefordshire, I learned that copious supplies of *drab* could be got without difficulty from the spoil-heaps of a mine near St. Asaph, on the road to Holywell. One of the Woods, who had lived at St. Asaph, confirmed their information, giving this mine as the place where the Lees obtained their *drab*. He added, on the authority of John Roberts, a second source, the Llangynog mines, reached from Oswestry up the Tanat Valley by a road that goes on over the hills to Bala. Another of Abram Wood's descendants, who had lived at Llanidloes—a meeting-place of roads from Shrewsbury, South Wales, and the Cardigan coast—said Gypsies used to get *drab* from the mines there. And a member of the Matthew Lock family, less definite in his information, suggested 'somewheres about Flint' as the place to look for it; having heard, probably, of the dump near St. Asaph.

These statements, compared with the special report issued by the Geological Survey on the occurrence of barytes and witherite in Great Britain,³ make it clear that witherite was the poisonous mineral sought, and that the Welsh and Welsh

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 199-207. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 150-3.

² *The Romany Rye*, chap. vii.

³ *Memoirs of the Geological Survey. Special reports on the mineral resources of Great Britain. Vol. II. Barytes and Witherite.* 3rd ed. 1922.

Border Gypsies are still uncommonly well informed as to where it can be found. Indeed, the survey officers have noticed its occurrence at each of the four places precisely indicated by Gypsy authorities, and nowhere else south of the six northern counties of England. Everywhere, except at Snailbeach, it is readily accessible to a picker-up of trifles. The Pennant mine, located as being three miles from St. Asaph on the main road to Holywell, has refuse heaps left by the old lead-miners nearly half a mile long by about 100 feet wide, and estimated to contain more than 100,000 tons of material, in which the predominant spar constituents are barytes and witherite. The mine was worked intermittently for lead ores up to 1891, and re-opened, mainly to exploit barium minerals, in 1913, since when a portion of the tips has been picked over for witherite. Several mines in the Llangynog district—Llangynog, Cwm Orog, Craig-y-Mwyn, and Craig Rhiwarth—have some witherite in the gangue, and at Craig Rhiwarth, last worked for lead, zinc, and copper ores about thirty years ago, it is abundant in the dumps. And near Llanidloes two long-abandoned lead and zinc mines—Gorn, and Pen-y-Clyn—possess spoil-heaps rich in witherite; which dangerous mineral Welshmen seem to leave about in unguarded places as carelessly as they do bulls.

North country Gypsies have, in my experience, less certain knowledge of the occurrence and appearance of *drab*. An assertion sometimes made by them is that a visit to Brough Hill Fair was formerly an occasion for laying in supplies, the implication being that *drab* could be got near Brough, or on the way there or back. Hardly more precise is another not uncommon statement, to the effect that it is found at the lead mines in County Durham, or, alternatively, Cumberland. A Durham Lee specified Alston Moor—an old mining area situated at the convergence of roads from Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland to Carlisle—as a good source; but the sample he carried was harmless, being galena (lead ore) intergrown with barytes. Still, Alston Moor was also given me by a Smith-Lovell man, and by one of the Herons. The only other definite information I have came from some Boswells who go up to Scotland, and are connected by marriage with the Durham Lees. They, on the authority of these Lees, said *drab* could be got in plenty near Hexham—the village of Fallowfield being specially mentioned—a very convenient locality, as Hexham is on the direct route between Newcastle and Carlisle, and might easily be included in a journey to and from Scotland.

Were proof needed that the *drab* of north country Gypsies is also witherite the Boswells supplied it; for Fallowfield, and the district around it to the north and north-west of Hexham, and more particularly Settlingstones, have been the chief producers of this mineral ever since records were kept; whilst, so far as I can discover, no other poisonous substance occurs anywhere in the neighbourhood. Fallowfield was originally a lead mine, but since its re-opening in 1845, down to 1914 when it was closed again, witherite has been the chief product. Settlingstones, which is still active, was also a lead mine in its early days, but has yielded witherite on a large scale since before 1870, nearly 10,000 tons being raised in 1910 out of a total of less than 11,000 for the whole country. Close to it is the Stonecroft mine, idle since 1896, where witherite occurs in the gangue; and a little further to the north are some old workings on Walwick Fell from which the substance may be picked up readily. This is the only mention of its occurrence here in refuse heaps; but the Settlingstones main vein, consisting of nearly pure witherite, is visible at the surface in one place; and, anyhow, it must always have been easy to secure supplies with so many workmen engaged in the industry.

Alston presents difficulties—on paper, at any rate. There are several lead and zinc mines, and, generally speaking, barytes and witherite are the predominant spar constituents of the mineral veins exploited. Both, apparently, have been produced at the Park and Hartside mines, as they certainly have at Nentsbury and Blagill; whilst further away from Alston, at Wellhope, witherite has been got from former lead workings. But there is no mention of its presence in other heaps of debris; and only at Nentsbury does it appear to be relatively abundant. The chief vein containing it at this mine has been worked at the surface, but so intimate is the growth of ore and spar that separation by hand-picking is impossible. The procedure adopted in the past was to remove the galena by jigging, and send the rest away as impure witherite, the blende (zinc ore) being subsequently returned. An intergrowth of blende and witherite is, superficially, not unlike one of galena and barytes, which may account for the latter being carried as *drab* by the Durham Lee who gave me a specimen, and also by the Kendal Smiths. A further trouble about Nentsbury witherite (and possibly all Alston witherite) is that the poisonous barium in it is frequently replaced to a greater or lesser extent by the similar, but innocuous, element calcium.

A random sample supplied to me as coming from the Alston district showed this replacement to the extent of approximately 19.2 per cent. of calcium carbonate to 79.5 per cent. barium carbonate (1.3 per cent. impurity). It developed free alkali at a lower temperature than witherite, but could be decrepitated at a dull-red heat without chemical change, and would, therefore, have served as *drab* well enough.

Brough-under-Stainmore lies at the edge of a mineral province that produces good barytes; but witherite does not appear to be common, or easily picked up. The nearest and most accessible mine where it occurs is at Lunehead, six miles distant on the road to Middleton-in-Teesdale, Bishop Auckland, and Durham. Here extensive dumps line the roadside, but no definite assurance is given that they contain witherite. To the north, and more readily approached from Appleby (where the June fair is popular with Gypsies), witherite is found at the Scordale and Silverband mines, its bare presence in the refuse heaps being reported at Silverband. Further away, in Upper Teesdale, high above the road from Alston to Middleton, the Cow Green and Flushiemere mines yield, or have yielded, the mineral, and at Flushiemere it may be got from the old lead workings. East of Brough, on the road over Stainmore, there seems to be nothing beyond debris left from the exploitation of a vein that may be continuous with the one bearing witherite worked at Lunehead.

The other routes from Brough to the Yorkshire plain (and so to Hull, where the big October fair closely follows Brough Hill, and is visited to-day by many of the same Gypsies) promise a plentiful supply of *drab*. Into Swaledale the road is rough, and difficult for heavy waggon, but once there witherite may be had in abundance (apart from minor occurrences) on the waste-heaps in the Reeth district. Through Hawes and down Wensleydale would be rather easier going, and in Wensleydale, at the disused Virgin mine, near Redmires, there are, besides fragments in the dumps, one or two tons of the dressed mineral in a corner of what was the loading shed. The remaining route is by Skipton, near which town (a customary stopping place with Gypsies crossing from the West Riding into North Lancashire) is the abandoned Cononley lead mine, with considerable refuse tips that carry some witherite.

Starting from information tendered by Gypsies I have, it is not without interest to note, mentioned every known source

of witherite in Britain, except the colliery workings at Ushaw Moor and New Brancepeth, near Durham, where production is recent; the isolated Lolly mine in Upper Nidderdale; some old lead mines on Anglezark Moor, near Chorley; and Wanlockhead, in the Lowlands, where presence of the mineral in Scotland was first proved a few years ago. But of course there is no evidence to show that Gypsies were familiar with more than a very limited number of the northern sources.

The south, south-east, and south-west of England are remote from natural supplies of witherite, but sufficient of the substance might filter through. One of the Ingrams from about Llanidloes—a very hazy figure, however—is, in fact, said to have made a living by retailing it to other Gypsies, and if he ever did so he must have gone far afield to find enough purchasers. It should be remembered, too, that London-side Gypsies, such as the Lovells and Scamps, were in the habit of visiting the Welsh Border, and probably Wales itself, in the later decades of the eighteenth century, if not before; and that families like the Herons and Boswells, and even the Shaws, were quite at home in Yorkshire at that date, though the Fen Country, East Anglia, and London saw them more frequently perhaps. But when all is said, one cannot get over Borrow's inability to suggest a less prosaic method of obtaining *drab* than buying it in threepennyworths at a shop.

The Cambridgeshire and Fen Country Gypsies of my acquaintance, to whom *drab* is a white powder and not a mineral, support Borrow's assertion that it was formerly obtained from apothecaries. Lately I have been fortunate enough to procure a specimen from one of them, who had actually purchased it to destroy rats, but declared that identically the same stuff was used when he was a young man to *drab bale*. It was a fine, soft, white powder, like flour in appearance, but bitter to the taste. On analysis it proved to be barium carbonate, quite, or very nearly, free from impurity. Microscopic examination revealed no sign of crystalline structure, but suggested, on the other hand, that it had been prepared by precipitation, as the substance always is, I believe, when a high grade product is required. This, however, is not a material point, as the retailer would supply whatever quality he happened to stock.

As barium carbonate is not a scheduled poison, no artificial obstacle has ever been placed in the way of its sale. At the present time it can be got readily enough in most towns, and very

probably a good number of the old druggists carried stocks, for it has long been known as a rat-bane. The chief demand, I am told by an experienced chemist, is, and always has been, from professional rat- and mole-catchers, who may possibly have passed on to Gypsies a certain amount of information as to means of procuring the substance. Gypsies, as is well known, have not infrequently been rat- and mole-catchers themselves.

Methods of administering *drab* to pigs seem to have varied very little. A Cambridgeshire authority said a hole was cut in each of two or three small, raw potatoes, and plugged up again after the *drab* had been inserted, the incision being hidden by smearing with wet soil. Mixing with dough he gave as an alternative method; and the fatal dose the quantity that would rest on a half-crown. The Welsh Lovells are said to have made it into balls with flour and fat; but two of them, I have heard, wishing to destroy their dead father's donkey (already sold to some one else), gave it a cake to eat in which *drab* had been baked—a very curious procedure.

The effects produced by *drab* on pigs, it is fairly generally agreed, included sickness ('and the t'other pigs eated the vomit and got *draber'd* as well,' said one informant), foaming at the mouth, and colic. Some animals appear to have shown considerable powers of recovery.¹ Rejection of the head and internal organs was customary, but no fears seem to have been entertained that evil effects might follow from eating any other part of the carcase. Cambridgeshire Gypsies have been known to *drab* fowls.

NOTES AND QUERIES

9.—COPPERSMITHS IN PARIS

The time is the summer of 1920 (August, so far as I remember). The scene is in Paris, in a vacant lot on the right bank of the Seine, not very far from the 'Pont de Saint-Cloud' in the 'Quartier Billancourt' opposite Sèvres. I am looking at a very picturesque Gypsy encampment. There may be forty of them—the forty thieves of Ali Baba with a huge treasure of glittering kettles, whose copper the benevolent sun baptizes gold. But most of these kettles are so enormous that they can hardly have stolen them. Besides, these 'Romane' have very placid, very honest faces. And they work. How they work! I feel ashamed of myself

¹ A fallacious belief that barium carbonate has no toxic effect on man and the larger animals recently found expression in the literature issued by the organiser of a 'county rat week' who was anxious to persuade people to poison rats with a preparation made from this substance.

and of the loafing crowd that is looking at them. With their charcoal fires and queer contrivances for bellows they perform all the operations that a tinker can think of and many more than my English vocabulary would cover.

An elderly working man who has been looking at the Gypsies with an appreciative and competent air, turns toward me: 'I see, Monsieur, that you are interested in these "Bohémiens." They are interesting indeed. Fine menders they are. Those kettles there are given to them for repairs by big hotels and restaurants. They have a knack for repairing them that no other artisans have. They have secrets! Look how at certain times they roll the kettles under their tents. That means that they don't want to be watched and spied at during certain operations. They are wary. But I tell you, Monsieur, and you can believe me, since I am a coppersmith myself (not a tinker, mind you, but a coppersmith), we know, in our trade, that these fellows have secrets handed down to them from their ancestors for more generations than there are people now passing on that bridge yonder. And no wonder they know so much, since it is a sure thing that their ancestors are the very men who have invented the art of working with copper. Yes, Monsieur, they are interesting to look at, but I must not forget that the "bourgeoise" is waiting for me with the lunch. *Au revoir.*'

After a few minutes I went too. But my mind and my fancy still wonder and ponder, lingering with the Gypsies of the Pont de Saint-Cloud, the Gypsies of all the world and of all time. . . .

LOUIS CONS.

10.—ROUMANIAN GYPSIES

'The population of Bucharest is estimated at nearly 50,000 inhabitants: amongst whom are a multitude of gipseys as domestic slaves. Mr. Wilkinson describes their numbers in both principalities, to amount to 150,000 souls; and though the period of their first coming into the country is not exactly known, he supposes "it may date with the irruption of the gipseys from Germany in the fifteenth century." They are mentioned in some archives found in the convents of Valachia, &c., and which were evidently written about that period. Being in a state of slavery, seems a peculiarity in these provinces attached to them; and we find them described as consisting of two classes: one the property of government, the other of private individuals; but when they are sold from master to master, it is not in open market, but by contracts at home. Some are constantly employed in domestic, or other services, to their respective owners; and others are allowed to pick up their precarious bread, by wandering about the country, provided they bind themselves never to leave it. For this half-liberty, they pay annually forty piastres each man. With regard to the character they hold, it is even worse than with us; the name of *gipsey* being considered the most opprobrious epithet of contempt, something even more degrading than that of thief.'—Sir Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &c., during the years 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820*, (London, 1822), ii. pp. 790-1.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

11.—THE KNOWLEDGE OF GYPSY AMONG THE GENTILES OF SPAIN

In no other country is a knowledge of Gypsy as widespread among the inhabitants as in Spain. Nearly one-third of the words given by Luis Beses in his dictionary of Spanish slang, *Argot*, are of Gypsy origin. Pick up almost any of the journals devoted to bull-fighting and you will find a number of words in *caló*. A Valencian torero whom I met on a French liner coming to America was able to

carry on a fair conversation in Gypsy. And he informed me that Llapisera, a well-known comic bull-fighter, who enters the arena in dress clothes, is an expert in the language.

Even a policeman and the sons of a Guardia Civil whom I met in Spain were well versed in the tongue. And although I have talked with hundreds of Gitanos from all parts of the Peninsula, except the extreme North, including Estremadura and many from Cordova where the language has been best preserved, none spoke it as well as a Gentile whom I met in Guadix. He had learned it from some Gypsies with whom he worked for years in a mine; and could carry on a conversation in almost pure Romani, of a form so uncorrupted that a Slavic or Magyar Gypsy would have been able to follow him to a fair degree.

IRVING BROWN.

12.—SCOTTISH GYPSY LEES

In an article entitled 'The Forester' written by A. MacCallum Scott and published in the first part of the first volume (April 1924) of *The Scots Magazine*, Lord Lovat, of Beaufort Castle on the Beauly in Inverness-shire, is represented as saying that old Simon Fraser, the Lord Lovat who was executed after the 1745 rebellion, 'offered three bolls of meal and a davoch of land to any man who would settle down on his territory and adopt the Fraser name. There were a good many gypsies of the name of Lee who were settled in this way. Their descendants, to this day, are entered on the Valuation Roll as "Lee or Fraser." There are lots of Fraser-Lees.'

R. A. SCOTT MACFIE.

13.—THE DRINDARI WORD 'ŠAÍNGU'

Since my return to Varna in 1922 it has been my custom to resort to the Turkish 'Köçek' about twice a year, in order to revive old sensations. On the 28th Feb. 1924 I was sitting there behind a glass of brandy and another of wine in the company of a few Scotch and English friends, when Čakir, my old teacher of ten years ago, putting aside his lute and leaving the raised dais where the performing girls were yelling their songs and wobbling their bodies in uncouthly lascivious contortions, came and sat with us and entered into conversation. I found little difficulty in following what he said in his weird speech, but I admit that I was for a moment mystified when he told me, referring to a drunken Albanian, who was proceeding unsteadily across the floor, that his people call the drunken one in question a *šaiingu*. He reminded me that the Albanians are the sellers of *Boza*, a cool and refreshing national drink made of millet. Now millet is in Romani *khurmi*, and this word is not affected by any of the Drindari phonetic laws of vowel and consonant mutation and disintegration, and if it were, it could hardly be lying concealed in the word *šaiingu*. This was not the clue. 'But don't you know that they adulterate the millet with *šajá*,' he added. Still I was too dull-witted to follow him. 'What is *šajá* in Bulgarian?' I asked. '*Tritsi*,' he replied. Then it dawned upon me in a flash. '*Tritsi*' is bran, and bran in Romani is *šeljá* (plur.), and in Drindari quite regularly, *šajá* or *šəjá*, and *šaiingu* or *šəingu* is Drindari for Romani *šeljéngoro*, the word belonging of course to the *garazi čhib*.

E. GILLIAT-SMITH.

VARNA, 5th March 1924.

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JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

THIRD SERIES

VOL. III

YEAR 1924

No. 4

I.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON.

No. 23. O JAK I RUVLĒSA.

With a Note by Prof. W. R. HALLIDAY.

*Bitā kēr tā ĵurī tā peskō ėavō. Ėorvanē, ėorvanē sas-lē. 'Viās
ō ĥulanō mūrš ī lovėskī, divesd tā divesd.¹*

*Sas ī ĵurīd trin gurunīd tā ėī palāl. Xēē yoi ī ėavėskī:
"Bik'nása ō trin gurunīd arē ī velgóra kalikō, te peserā ī kėrėskō
lovō."*

*Giās ō Jak ī gurunėnsa. Dikās mūrš 'prē ō drom. "Kā ĵesa
odóla gurunėnsa?" ĵučdās ī Ĵakėstē. "K'ī velgóra te biknā len."*

JACK AND HIS CUDGEL

There was a cottage and an old woman and her son. They were very very poor. The landlord came for the rent time after time.

The old woman had three cows and naught beside. She said to her son: 'Let us sell the three cows at the fair to-morrow, that I may pay the rent.'

Jack set off with the cows. He met a man on the road. 'Where art thou going with those cows?' he asked Jack. 'To the fair to sell them.' 'Sell them to me,' quoth the man. 'What

¹ *divesd*] acc. used adverbially, lit. 'days and days.'

"*Bikin len maŋi,*" *χə'ō mūrš.* "*Sō desa man leni?*" "*Kūri-máskō ruvlō, i bəšavimáskō moxtō, tā 'kaia bita basavī makī.*"

'*Yas len ō Ĵak tā keré 'vías.* "*Sō 'yan i guruvéŋi?*" *χə'ō i puri dai i Ĵakéski.* "*Akála trin kolá*": *sikadás len ō Ĵak i puriákī.* "*Te dinvarés kedán!*" *χə'ē yoi, tā ēiŋerdás les.*

Tārdiás ō Ĵak i bəšavimáskō moxtō, tā kedás i puriá¹ te kelél pos te sas-lī büt kint te 'čel. "*Mō bəšá kekkómī, čavō: na ēiŋeráva tut kek.*"

Kalikō 'vías ō χulanō mūrš i lovéski. "*Ĵund mē sō te kerá,*" *χə'ō Ĵak.* *K'urdás təp ō ruvlō.* "*Kūr, ruvláia, kūr!*" *χə'ē yov.* *Kurdás i mūršés avri ō kēr.*

Χə'ō Jak peskē dakī: "*Ĵava mē te diká mē baχtibenáskī.*" *Ák'ō ĵala peski t'i ruvlésa t'i makíasa!* *Mukdás ō bəš'imáskō moxtō i ĵurē dasa.*

P'irdás pes dūr dūr. *Dikás bōri filišin: poš opré sas-lī.* *Sōkon dives prečénas lā ō bütíēŋerē, sōkon rat tārdint talé sas-lī.* *I bōrē-filišindakerō penélas te delas peski čai i mūršéski 'dō-kai l'atélas kon tārdénas i filišin talé.*

wilt thou give me for them?' 'A cudgel, a musical-box, and this little bee.'

Jack took them and returned home. 'What didst thou get for the cows?' quoth his old mother to Jack. 'These three things': Jack showed them to the old woman. 'How foolishly thou hast done!' quoth she, and she railed at him.

Jack pulled out the musical-box, and made the old woman dance until she was too exhausted to stand. 'Do not play any more, boy, and I will not scold thee.'

On the morrow the landlord came for his rent. 'I know what I shall do,' quoth Jack. He called upon the cudgel. 'Lay on, cudgel, lay on!' quoth he. The cudgel beat the man out of the house.

Quoth Jack to his mother: 'I am going to seek my fortune.' Lo! he sets forth with the cudgel and the bee. He left the musical-box with his old mother.

He walked for a long, long way. He saw a great castle: it was only half built. Every day the workmen would build it up, every night it was pulled down. The lord of the castle had proclaimed that he would give his daughter to the man who should find out who pulled the castle down.

¹ *p'uriá*] an instance of the somewhat rare fem. acc. sing.

Kediás o Ĵak bŭt bārā pōšē pestī, tū sutīās tōp o masuró te vārtīn i filiśīn. Vārtasās ēārla.

Pōš rat 'vīās. Dīās i bōrī ōra. Dikās dūi bōrē mūrš te ĵana k'i filiśīn tī tārdén lā talé, yek akáia rig, t'ō vavēr okóia rig.

'Yas o Ĵak bār ar'ō vast, tū uērdās les kī yek i bōrē mūršéndē. "Sō kesa?" xōč'ō bōrō mūrš i vaveréskī. "Čī na keráva mē." Uērdās o Ĵak vaver bār pōpalē, tū dīās yek bōrē mūršés tōp o dumō. "Mō spīlā¹ man," xōčē 'kava bōrō i vaveréskī. "Čī na kedóma mē, sō rakerésa 'jō?"

Bōrō ēiņeriben i dūi bōrē mūršénsa 'kanš. Gilé te kūr'n pen pōs te mārdē vaverkén. Čindīās o Ĵak i dūi bōrē mūršēņē šērē, tū rigerdās yek pesa te sikavél i reskī.

Ak'o ĵala k'i filiśīn 'kanš te ĵenél i reskī te l'atīās kon sas te tārdénas i filiśīn talé. Sikadās o šērō tū pūčdās i restē i čakī.

Na kamēlas o rai kek te del peskī čai kī 'ĵesavō čorvanō mūrš. "'Doi sī trin kolā pōpalē, Ĵak, tukī te kes, maņkē dava lā tukī. Kalikó mus te tilés i pūrī čoveχant kai ĵivēla ar'ō veš."

Jack gathered together a heap of stones by his side, and lay down on the wall to watch the castle. He watched for a long time.

Midnight arrived. It struck twelve (*lit.* 'the great hour'). He saw two giants approaching the castle to pull it down, one on this side and the other on that side.

Jack took a stone in his hand, and flung it at one of the giants. 'What art thou doing?' said one giant to the other. 'I am doing nothing.' Jack flung yet another stone, and hit one giant on the back. 'Do not bump against me,' said this giant to the other. 'I did nothing; why dost thou talk like that?'

Now a great quarrel broke out between the two giants. They fell a-fighting, until they killed each other. Jack cut off the heads of the two giants, and carried one with him to show to the lord.

Now he hurries off to the mansion to tell the lord that he had found out who they were that had been pulling down the castle. He showed the head, and asked the lord for his daughter.

The lord did not like to give his daughter to such a poor wretch. 'There are three more things, Jack, for thee to do, before I give her to thee. To-morrow thou must catch the old witch who lives in the wood.'

¹ *spīlā*] Imperative of *spīlav-*, causative of *spīl-*, 'to push, to shove,' for which it is sometimes less correctly used without change of meaning.

Díás i Jakés dosta te xol tā dosta te piél, tā kuškō vodros te sovél aré. Sutíás o Jak sōr i rat.

Ranī 'sařla opré 'čas tā 'yas o dūi-vasténō bilanō¹ pesa k'ō veš. Čindíás bōrī bōrī xev ar'ō ruk i bilanésa, tā 'čas pōš' odōi pōs te 'velas i čovexant. Sig dikás lā—uglīmen pūri čovexant tā bōrō bōrō bal latī.

Dikás yoi tōp i xev. Trašadt sas-lī. "Kon kedé akáia xev?" xōčē pestī.

'Prē 'vías o Jak. "Kuškō dives," pūkadas i čovexanīákī. "Sō sī 'dova yudār ar'ō ruk?" "Raikanō bita kēr te kedóm mē tukī; tatt 'vesa 'rē 'dova bita kēr, na l'atēna tut 'doi o iv tā māzos."

'Vías i pūri čovexanī pōšpōšē² o ruk. 'Yas o Jak lakō bal aré o vast, tārđiás les 'rōl i xev, tā pāndiás les trušal o ruk. Oj' 'yas lā. P'andíás lakē mušā tā rigerdás lā k'i filišin.

Díás lā i reskī. Čidē lā aré kračātī³ avriál i filišin, tā 'doi sas-lī bēřšēnī te čumerélas⁴ tōp sōr i rakiéndī.

He gave Jack plenty to eat and plenty to drink, and a good bed to sleep in. Jack slept all night.

He rose early in the morning and took a two-handed auger with him to the wood. He bored a big hole in a tree with the auger, and waited close by until the witch should come. Soon he beheld her—an ugly old witch with long, long hair.

She looked at the hole. She was surprised. 'Who made this hole?' said she to herself.

Jack came up. He bade the witch good-day. 'What is that door in the tree?' 'A pretty little house that I have made for thee; thou wilt be warm in that little house, neither snow nor frost will find thee there.'

The old witch came right up to the tree. Jack seized her hair in his hand, pulled it through the hole, and tied it round the tree. That was the way he caught her. He bound her arms and carried her to the mansion.

He gave her to the lord. They put her in a cage outside the mansion, and she was there for years, spitting upon all the servant girls.

¹ *bilanō*]. This word, apparently unrecorded elsewhere, I would derive from Skt. 'vedhani (√vyadh, 'to bore'), Hindi 'vedhni,' 'gimlet, auger.'

² *pōšpōšē*] A redupl. form of *pōšē*; cp. Pasp. *pash pashē*.

³ *kračātī*] *krača* is a loan-word from Eng. dial. 'cratch.'

⁴ *čumerélas*] = the better form *čujerélas*.

"Nē 'kanś, Ĵak, wōntsāva tut te filēs ī bōrē-dandēyō bōlō,¹ tī andēs les k'ī filiśīn." "Nai 'dovā ēi," xōēō Ĵak, "kerāva mē 'dovā tukī kalikō."

Gīās ar'ō vodros tā sutiās miśtō. Ar'ī 'sařla 'čas oprē, tā 'yas pesa kuśkō xōben tā kuśkō suy tōp lestī. Čidās ō xōben talal ō ruk. Gīās oprē ō ruk te garavēl pes, tā bōrō šelō pestī.

Suņdās ō bōlō ō kuśkō suy: sig sig šundās les ō Ĵak te prastēl arśl ō rukā. 'Viās ō bōlō ēin oprē k'ō ruk. Akēk'ōv xōla 'kanś!

Uērdās ō šelō 'pārl leskī rutnī,² tā tārđiās les. "Akēk'ō!" xōēō Ĵak, "'yom les 'kanś." T'a andiās les kērē k'ī filiśīn.

"Šī man yek kova pōpalē tukī te kes, Ĵak," xōē'ī filiśīnākerō. "Mus te řes talē arē ī balanē-řuklēyō tan: tinī xōna tut ō balanē řukelā³ lesa mīrī čai."

Uērdē ī Ĵākēs talē, tā tārđiās peskō kūrīmāskō ruvlō. "Kūr, ruvlāia, kūr!" kārđās. T'a kūrđās ō ruvlō ō balanē řukelā kotōrēndī.

'Now then, Jack, I want thee to catch the wild boar, and to bring him to the mansion.' 'That is naught,' quoth Jack, 'I will do that for thee to-morrow.'

He went to bed and slept well. In the morning he arose, and took with him some good food which gave forth a savoury smell. He laid the food beneath a tree. He climbed the tree to hide himself, and he had a big rope with him.

The boar scented the good smell: presently Jack heard him galloping through the wood. The boar came right up to the tree. Lo! he is eating now.

He threw the rope round his snout, and pulled it tight. 'Here he is!' quoth Jack; 'I have got him now.' And he brought him home to the mansion.

'I have still one more thing for thee to do, Jack,' quoth the lord of the mansion. 'Thou must descend into the lions' den: if the lions do not devour thee thou shalt have my daughter.'

They threw Jack down, and he pulled out his cudgel. 'Lay on, cudgel, lay on!' he cried. And the cudgel beat the lions to smithereens.

¹ bōrē-dandēyō bōlō] lit. 'pig of the great teeth.'

² rutnī] = Pasp. rutunī, 'nose'; Thes. ručuni, 'nostril.' In W. Gyp. only used of animals; e.g., Ō bey sī ar'ī rutnī: nai-lī kuśkī te 'vel xōll kek. 'The devil is in the snout: it is not fit to be eaten.'

³ balanē řukelā] lit. 'hairy dogs.'

Sau gŷjē sas trašadē, tā Ĵak ŗukadās leŷi tī mukēn ī pīrēgerī talē. Sŷr trašēnas ī kūrimāskē ruvlēstē, tā mukdē pīrēgerī talē leskī.

'Prē 'vīās ō Ĵak, tā mukdās peskī basavī makī. Dandīās ī filišinākerō tā sŷr ī bŷrē ren te sas odōi, pŷs te gladimen sas-lē te maŷēn ātavimāskī.¹

Dikās ō rai te čai sas leskerī. Dīās lā ī Jakéskī. Romerdās lā ō Ĵak, tā gilē peŷi ō dūi te dikēn leskē ŗurē dakī.

'Vilē k'ō bita kēr kai ŷivēlas ī ŗurī. Kūrdē ō hudŷr. Kek na šundē. Kūrdē ŗopalē. Kek na 'vilē k'ō hudŷr. ŷagerdās ō Ĵak ō hudŷr, tā 'rē gīās.

Odōi dikās ī ŗurī dai te sovēlas tŷp ī bārā. Sas lā kek ŷoben arē ō kēr divesēŷi. Na bišadās ō Ĵak čī latī, tā mēr'las bokātē. Bišadē ī drabeŷeréskī; dīās lā dropa šērŷō mol, tā sig 'vīās pestī.

'Yas lā ō Ĵak peskē romnīāsa k'ī filišin kā sas pŷš talē. ŷ'učdās ī bŷrē-filišinakeréstē te mukēn len te ŷivēn odōi. Dīās ī filišin

All the people were astonished, and Jack told them to let down the ladder. They were all terrified of the cudgel, and they let down a ladder for him.

Jack climbed up, and let loose his bee. It stung the lord and all his fine friends who were there, until they were glad to beg for mercy.

The lord saw that his daughter was to be Jack's. He gave her to him. Jack married her, and the two set off to visit his old mother.

They came to the little cottage where the old woman lived. They knocked at the door. No one heard them. They knocked again. No one came to the door. Jack burst open the door, and went in.

There he saw his old mother lying on the stone floor. She had had no food in the house for days. Jack had sent her nothing, and she was dying of hunger. They summoned the doctor; he gave her a little brandy, and she soon came to herself.

Jack took her with his bride to the castle that was half destroyed. He asked the great lord of the castle to allow them to

¹ *ātavimāski*] dat. of *ātaviben*, from Rum. 'ierta,' 'to forgive,' itself a borrowing from Low Latin 'libertare.' Borrow (*Lavo-Lil*) has the rather better form *artapen*.

leŷi te rigerél kokoréŷi. Tā 'doi jivéna 'kanš mē dīr dablésa, sār dūr sār jund mē.

Mō pūč mandē kekkómī te pūkavā kek¹ xoxiben tukī!

live there. He gave them the castle to keep for themselves. And there they live now with the help of God, as far as I know.

Ask me no more to tell thee any lie!

[This story is a combination of the *Tale of the Magical Talismans* (inexhaustible purse, cap of invisibility, shoes of swiftness, *Tischchen-deck-dich*, etc.), of which Grimm, Nos. 36, 54, and 103 are specimens, with incidents from *The Brave Little Tailor*, Grimm, No. 20.

For stories relating to the magical talismans, references will be found in Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, pp. 224, 265; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, i. pp. 72-132; Cosquin, *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*, i. pp. 50-9, 121-32; ii. 79-88, 184-6, 286; Bolte und Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, i. pp. 346-61, 464-85; ii. pp. 438-40: and for examples of oriental variants of the dispute for the possession of the magical articles see Cosquin, *Les Contes Indiens et l'Occident*, pp. 371 foll. Two papers which appear to contain the most important contribution to the discussion of the distribution of these stories are unfortunately not accessible to me. These are Aarne, *Mémoires de la Société finno-ougrienne*, 25 (1908), pp. 83-142, and Aarne, *Journal de la Société finno-ougrienne*, 27 (1911-12), pp. 1-96. It is clear, however, that some of the conclusions of this author may need modification in the light of oriental variants which are recorded by Bolte and Polívka but were unknown to him (B. and P., i. p. 361). The rambling note in the new edition of Tawney's translation of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* (Penzer-Tawney, *The Ocean of Story*, i. pp. 25-9), adds nothing of value, though I am inclined to agree with Mr. Penzer as to the oriental origin of the types in which the magical talismans are acquired by fraud.

Adequately to analyse the very numerous ramifications and variations of the forms of story in which the talismans figure would require more time and labour than is at my disposal, and the generalisations which follow must therefore be taken as tentative suggestions of possible lines of investigation rather than as well-based conclusions. I personally see no reason why the idea

¹ *kek*] *kek* may here be used, as it occasionally is, in its original sense of 'any.'

of such talismanic objects should not have arisen independently in various parts of the world. For we may surely agree with Andrew Lang that independent origin is possible and even probable in the case of general ideas such as, to give an example, the belief in an external soul or life token. It is coincidences in particular associations of groups of ideas or incidents in a given order, that is to say, coincidences of plot, which in my view can only have a single origin. In any case, our talismans appear very early in European literature and even in the familiar set of three. In the Hesiodic *Shield of Hercules*, lines 216 foll., Perseus is depicted with his winged sandals of swiftness on his feet, the cap of Hades, which confers invisibility, upon his head, and slung over his back the magical wallet, *kibisis*, containing the head of Medusa.¹ Again, the purse of Fortunatus has its classical prototype in the horn of Amalthea, which, though it is chiefly prominent in Alexandrian literature and its derivatives, had already become proverbial by the time of the lyric poet Phokylides (Frag. 7, Bergk), whose date is given by Suidas as about 537 B.C.

The magical talismans may be acquired legitimately or by fraud. The fraudulent methods, to which with Mr. Penzer I should be inclined to assign an oriental origin, fall into three groups:—

- A. One talisman is honestly acquired from its owner; the owner of the magical club or similar instrument of violence is then induced to exchange it for that which the hero possesses; the hero then uses the magical club to recover the talisman or talismans which he has surrendered.
- B. The hero asks to be allowed to test the efficacy of the talismans, and having got hold of them uses the cap of invisibility or the means of magical transport to escape with them.
- C. The hero meets the three heirs to the talismans wrangling over the division of their heritage. He volunteers to act as arbiter, and sets them to run a race, the winner of which is to have the precedence of choice. When they are safely started, he makes off with the prizes (*e.g.* Groome, p. 164).

None of these forms, however, immediately concerns us here. The talismans are honestly come by, usually as a gift, payment, or reward from some magical personage, *e.g.* God (Groome, No. 60),

¹ See appendix on Perseus and the *kibisis*.

the King of the Snakes, St. Peter, the Devil, a Dwarf, Wind or Frost, etc. But the opening of our tale, reminiscent of that of *Jack and the Beanstalk*, is also not uncommon in Europe. Some examples of purchase in exchange for the hero's cow or pig will be found in Cosquin, *Contes Pop. de Lorraine*, i. p. 53. In the most usual form of the story in the West the owner of the talismans is successively robbed of them by a scoundrelly innkeeper, who is eventually made to disgorge them again by the club or similar instrument of magical violence. In another form a princess or a courtesan wheedles the hero or heroes into parting with their precious possessions. Eventually revenge is taken upon her by means of the magical fruit which elongates the nose or causes horns to grow. In this form the story approximates very closely to tales of the type of Grimm, Nos. 60, 122, or Groome, No. 25, where the faithless woman similarly secures the magic bird's liver and is similarly brought to book.

The number and character of the talismans is liable to variation, though most commonly they occur in sets of three or four. It will be noticed that in our version the magical musical-box drops out at the start and its peculiar properties are never described nor employed.

For *The Brave Little Tailor* reference may be made to Clouston, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 133-54; Cosquin, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 95-102, 258-62; Bolte und Polívka, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 148-65. Groome, Nos. 21, 22 do not contain the episodes relevant here, though they belong to the same type. It is Polívka's opinion that 'the story arose independently in different places: in Germany at the end of the Middle Ages, in Russia as a parody of the native heroic sagas, in the Caucasus and in India; only in the description of the feats of arms do the Asiatic versions hang together with those of the Caucasus, Eastern and Central Europe.'

The portions borrowed by our story-teller belong to the Western form of the story which figures in Bolte and Polívka's analysis as (C¹) the slaying of two giants, (C²) of a unicorn, and (C³) of a wild boar in performance of tasks set by the king.

The slaying of the giants by inducing each of them to believe that the other has thrown a stone at him occurs in Grimm, No. 20. We may compare the shooting of the robbers' cups in Groome, No. 43. In its simpler stone-throwing form it is a *motif* of great antiquity in Europe. When Cadmus sowed the dragon's teeth, there sprang up a crop of armed men, but Cadmus threw a

stone amongst them, with the result that they set a-fighting each other. This story is found in Pherekydes *ap.* Apollodorus, III. iv. 1, i.e. in the fifth century B.C. It is probably considerably older still. It is generally admitted that the sowing of the dragon's teeth by Jason at Colchis was borrowed from the Theban saga of Cadmus. But the stone-throwing ruse in this secondary form of the story is vouched for as early as Eumelus (*circa* 740 B.C.); for there can be little doubt that the subject-matter of the whole passage in Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, iii. 1363-76, is taken directly from the epic poet, as is, so the Scholiast tells us, the actual language of lines 1372-76 (Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, p. 796, note 5). This incident, then, in a slightly different setting was well established in European literature at some considerable time before the second half of the eighth century B.C.

In the second task the more usual unicorn has in our version been replaced by a witch. As a rule the Little Tailor adopts the orthodox medieval method of unicorn-hunting (see references, B. and P., i. p. 164), which consists in dodging behind a tree and allowing the animal to stick its horn inextricably in the trunk. The capture of the witch seems less plausible. It is possible that it may have been influenced by a recollection of one form of an earlier episode in the Little Tailor's career. Among the various trials of strength by which he craftily wins the giant's respect is sometimes the challenge to knock a hole in a tree trunk with the head, the Little Tailor's tree trunk having, of course, been previously prepared with a hole merely masked by moss and ivy.

For the third task our story agrees with Grimm, No. 20, in narrating the capture of a boar. The more usual and perhaps better method of capture, however, is for the hero's flight to entice the animal into a building from which it cannot escape. Thus in the Grimm version the Tailor flees into a chapel pursued by the boar, climbs out of a window and shuts the door on it.

In conclusion, we may notice that the cause of the king's quarrel with the giants is that they pull down at night what his workmen build during the day. The belief in the nocturnal demolition of buildings by supernatural agency is widespread and colours many local traditions. Buildings like the famous Bridge of Arta, until they have received the required foundation sacrifice, are kept in this way from completion; mysterious nocturnal demolition frequently necessitates (*e.g.* four churches in Yorkshire,

Gutch, *County Folk-Lore*, ii. pp. 22-3, or two in Gloucestershire, *Folk-Lore*, xxiii. p. 337), or seeks to prevent (*e.g.* a Yorkshire church, Gutch, *op. cit.*, p. 23, or a Norwegian, *Folk-Lore*, xx. p. 315), the re-erection of a sacred building upon another site. Again, the motive of destruction may be to prevent the desecration of a holy site by reconstruction carried out by infidels, as in the case of the tower at Damascus in which St. Paul was imprisoned. 'The Moors have many times rebuilt it, but in the morning it is found broken and thrown down, as the angel broke it, when he drew St. Paul out of the said tower' (*Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, 1503-1508 A.D. [Hakluyt Society, 1863], p. 12).

W. R. H.]

PERSEUS AND THE KIBISIS

The story of Perseus raises a number of difficult problems. It would seem to have existed at a very early date in more than one form. In what Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, pp. 225-7, considers to be the original form, Perseus received shoes and cap only from Hermes. This rests upon Alexandrian tradition, which is supposed to be based upon Aeschylus. For the complete narrative of the Perseus saga Pherekydes (fifth century B.C.) is the earliest extant authority. Here the nymphs provide the hero with shoes, cap, and wallet. In the usual form of the saga the talismans are acquired from the Graiai, the aged daughters of Phorkys, who possess but one eye and one tooth between them. By trickery Perseus secures possession of the eye and the tooth and extorts the talismans as the price of their surrender. In Hesiod there are two of these crones, in all subsequent authorities three.

It may be noticed that we have here two forms of the story of the acquisition of the talismans which correspond to the two broad differences of type in folk-tale, viz. (1) acquisition by gift of a magical person; (2) acquisition by trickery or fraud. Of these in folk-tale we have noticed the first to be more characteristic of Western, and the second of Eastern versions.

Next for the talismans themselves. Shoes and cap are common to all versions. The wallet is perhaps an addition, but if so it must be a very early one, as it is mentioned by Hesiod. It is called *kibisis*, which is not a Greek word, and is only used in ordinary classical Greek in the technical sense of Perseus' magical wallet. Hesychius said that the word was Cypriote, but Professor

Calder has recently brought forward evidence from the place-names of Lycaonia and Isauria, a district in which the Perseus legend was localised, at any rate in later times, to show that *kibisis* is an Anatolian word (W. M. Calder, 'Notes on Anatolian Religion,' *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, xi., 1924, p. 26). We may take it, at any rate, as certain that the word *kibisis* came into Greek from the East. It is at least an interesting coincidence that it is associated with the acquisition by trickery form of the story.

In Hesiod Perseus appears to use his own sword for the beheading of Medusa (ὥμοισιν δέ μιν ἀμφὶ μελάνδετον ἄορ ἔκειτο χαλκίου ἐκ τελαμῶνος, Hesiod, *Shield*, 221 f.), but in later versions Perseus receives from Hephaestus, Hermes or Athena a magical sword, the *harpe*. This, again, is an oriental addition, for the *harpe* is the ξιφοδρέπανον or scimitar. The *harpe* of Perseus can be traced back to the fifth century, but not, I think, beyond. Oriental additions to the Perseus saga are likely then to be accruing, for already the tendency to connect Perseus with Persians, which later played a considerable part in systematic mythological rationalism, was beginning to make itself felt. Nevertheless I am not as confident as Robert that the original version contained no magical sword, though this will hardly have been a scimitar. I cannot help thinking that the magical progeny, Chrysaor, 'Gold Sword,' which, with Pegasos, sprang from the severed neck of Medusa (Hesiod, *Theog.*, 280), has some obscure connection with the magical sword of the hero, in fact that the name is a reduplication of the same kind as that which makes one of the Graiai Perso.

Professor Calder has suggested that the *kibisis*, and perhaps the Gorgoneion, came from Asia Minor. For the *kibisis* there is a good deal to be said; the Gorgoneion seems to me more dubious. Actually the slaying of the Gorgon seems in one version to have been localised in the Peloponnese where Tegea possessed a lock of the Gorgon's hair and the market-place of Argos possessed the tomb of Medusa's head. With Robert (*op. cit.* p. 224) I am inclined to think this the older version. In Hesiod the Gorgons 'dwell beyond glorious Ocean in the frontier land towards Night, where are the clear-voiced Hesperides' (*Theog.*, 274). The story has been transferred in the period of Greek expansion and exploration to the extreme fringes of the known world, in Hesiod to the Far West. This is not incompatible with the possibility

of a quite early attribution of the adventure also to the Far East (compare the Eastern and Western versions of the Argonaut story, or even rival explanations of the geography of the *Odyssey*), but for this, though it does not seem to me improbable, I do not think that there is other evidence than the Anatolian or Cypriote character of the word *kibisis*, and the localisation, which is attested only for very much later times, of the slaying of Medusa in the heart of Asia Minor.

A further, perhaps insoluble, question suggests itself with regard to the *kibisis*—what was its original character? By all analogy it should be a food-producing wallet, but, if it ever possessed this property, it has completely lost it in Greek tradition. The word is solely used of the wallet of Perseus, and the function of this bag is to provide a safe receptacle for the petrifying Gorgon's head. Apollodorus, II. iv. 2, or possibly an interpolator, explains that 'the *kibisis* is so called because dress and food are deposited in it.' The implied derivation from *κείσθαι* and *ἐσθής* is obviously ludicrous (see Frazer's note *ad. loc.* and Robert, *op. cit.* p. 226, note 2), but I am inclined to think that the second half of the sentence may have been suggested by familiarity with the story of a magical food-producing wallet. But even if that possibility be allowed, it is but evidence of a relatively late familiarity with *Tischchen-deck-dich* stories; our Apollodorus is not earlier than the second century after Christ, and this sentence may even be a later gloss which has been interpolated in the text.

I do not think that the *Tischchen-deck-dich* occurs elsewhere in classical story. The fragment of the comic poet Krates (Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, i. p. 133) is sometimes, but wrongly, interpreted in this sense (*e.g.* by B. and P., i. p. 361. They correct themselves, however, iii. p. 245). Here the automatic table is but an incidental wonder in a comic description of the Golden Age, a *Schlaraffenland*. This indeed was one of the stock comic themes of the Attic stage at the time; *cf.* Telekleides (Kock, i. p. 209), Pherekrates (Kock, i. p. 174), and Nikophon (Kock, i. p. 777), the forerunners, as Bolte and Polívka rightly note, of Lucian's parody of the Isles of the Blest in his *Veracious History*.

The wallet form of *Tischchen-deck-dich* is, I fancy, of oriental origin, and all the modern European versions in which the food-producing talisman is a tablecloth or a napkin, as opposed to a table, are perhaps to be traced to the oriental table-bag or *sufra*.

This is a circular piece of leather which is spread for a table upon which to serve food at meal-times, and is also used between-whiles as a bag to carry food (see Dawkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 459, 509, 676; Burton-Smithers, *Arabian Nights*, x. p. 472). It has frequently been described by European travellers in the East, *e.g.* *Friar Jordanus*, fourteenth century (ed. Yule, Hakluyt Society), p. 10; Clavijo, *Embassy to Timur*, fifteenth century (Hakluyt Society), p. 68; von Hammer, *Narrative of Travels by Evliya Efendi*, i. ii. pp. 40, 208, seventeenth century; and more recently by Morier, *Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, cap. 26, or Crooke-Herklots, *Islam in India*, p. 318.

II.—SAMUEL FOX AND THE DERBYSHIRE BOSWELLS

By T. W. THOMPSON

I

THE Rev. Samuel Fox,¹ whose ninety-year-old vocabulary of Anglo-Romani has recently come to light, was the second son of Edward Fox of Derby, and a descendant, like the present Sir Douglas and Sir Francis Fox, of one William Fox who settled there early in the eighteenth century. Born on February 11, 1801, he was sent as a boy to the local Grammar School, his name, followed by the date 1816, being one of several hundreds carved on the walls and panels of the old school building in St. Peter's Churchyard. From there he proceeded in October 1821 to Pembroke College, Oxford, where apparently his career was not crowned with the kind of distinction that usually falls to the lot of studious and scholarly men who are careful not to stray too far from the courses appointed for them. Indeed, there is no mention of him at all in any university class-list.

¹ For information about Samuel Fox I have consulted *The Derby School Register*, which was published under the editorship of B. Tacchella in 1902; the Class Lists and Calendar of Oxford University; the Bodleian Library and British Museum Catalogues; an obituary notice that appeared in the *Derby Mercury* on September 7, 1870; Dr. Robert Bigsby's preface to Fox's posthumous *History and Antiquities of the Parish Church of S. Matthew Morley*; the *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol. xix. pp. 115-16; the Rev. A. E. R. Bedford, rector of Morley, and the Rev. Digby J. Hawker, vicar of Smalley; the late Mr. C. E. B. Bowles, M.A., F.S.A., of Wirksworth; the Rev. W. Fox (son), and Miss Anna Fox (daughter). I am specially indebted to the last named for some valuable notes on her father's life and activities, and for several interesting letters about him. In the Devonshire Collection in the Derby Public Library there is a scrap-book numbered 4021 that contains a photograph of him.

Nevertheless, he is known to have pursued such linguistic, literary, and historical studies as appealed to him by no means narrow tastes with a fine ardour and a praiseworthy diligence, and to have left Oxford in the possession of much sound learning, some of it of an unusual character. This was in 1825. Three years later he became a Master of Arts, having in the meantime prepared himself for ordination, and probably taken holy orders.

In 1829 he accepted a curacy at Morley, quite close to his old home; and adjoining Smalley, of which parish the rector of Morley also had charge, both then and for long afterwards. Marrying in the thirties, he succeeded to the livings of Morley and Smalley when they fell vacant in 1844, and continued to hold them for the remainder of his life, nearly the whole of which was thus spent in South Derbyshire. As a parish priest he was earnest, conscientious, and thoroughly capable; whilst his kindness, his graciousness, his sensibility, and the gleams of humour that now and again irradiated the 'sweet gravity' of his manner, must have made his tall, slightly stooping, scholarly figure a welcome sight to most of his parishioners. He rendered a lasting service to Morley, too, by undertaking a much-needed restoration of its ancient and interesting church, a work very near to his heart, for he was both a lover and a close student of ecclesiastical architecture, though seemingly he never wrote on it save in his posthumous *History and Antiquities of the Parish Church of St. Matthew Morley*, published in 1872, unless it was a book called *St. David's* whose contents I have been unable to determine.

Yet he was a copious writer, as an enumeration of the more important of his remaining literary productions will serve to show. A *History of Rome for Young Persons* came from his pen in 1833, to be followed, after an interval, by *Monks and Monasteries* in 1846, *The Noble Army of Martyrs* in 1848, and *The Holy Church throughout the World* in 1857; all meritorious works, and well received in their day, even if they were less valued by scholars than his Anglo-Saxon texts with literal translations, which began with the Poetical Calendar—*Menologium seu Calendarium Poeticum*—in 1830, and ended, it seems, with *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Boethius de consolatione* in 1864, the latter being, according to the British Museum catalogue, a new edition of his *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of the metres of Boethius* published in 1835.

His achievements as a Saxonist led in due course to his

election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. What matters more, they were chiefly instrumental in securing for him the esteem and warm friendship of the pioneer of Anglo-Saxon study in England, Dr. Joseph Bosworth; though the two men might well have been drawn together in any case, for Dr. Bosworth was born at Etwall, near Derby, and educated at the neighbouring village of Repton. In later life, at any rate, Samuel Fox often visited his friend; and it was, I am told, almost immediately after a holiday spent with him in Oxford that he died very suddenly at Morley, on September 3, 1870, as the result of a paralytic seizure.

His published work apparently contains no hint of his interest in Gypsies; but among his literary remains two notebooks were discovered containing original Romani vocabularies, set out side by side with Bryant's glossary copied from the *Annual Register* for 1785. These were preserved until recently by his daughter, Miss Anna Fox, who eventually entrusted a bookseller with the larger one, now in Dr. Sampson's possession, and then gave its companion to me, on my informing her of Dr. Sampson's acquisition. Both, it seems, were based on rougher notes, so far as the new words are concerned, the smaller one being, in Miss Fox's opinion, of somewhat earlier date than the larger. It is entitled 'A Vocabulary of the Zingara, or Gypsey Language,' and bears on the title-page a note saying that the 'Gypsey language is also called Romanous.' Then follow in parallel columns (i) Bryant's odd assortment of English words, with a few others added; (ii) Bryant's Romani equivalents, headed 'Zingara A. R.'; (iii) the writer's Romani equivalents, under the heading 'Zing. Smalley.' Finally, there are a few phrases in English and Romani. The notebook purchased by Dr. Sampson, which is entitled 'A Vocabulary of the Zingara or Romana, or Gypsey Language,' repeats all this, with some variations of spelling; but it contains in addition (i) a preface, (ii) a second, shorter, and on the whole poorer list of Romani equivalents noted by Fox from 'Viney Boswell,' (iii) four more phrases in English and Romani. In both notebooks certain words in the *Annual Register* and Smalley vocabularies are marked with the letter 'H' as being 'clearly of Hindostanee extraction' in the opinion of 'H. H. Wilson, Esq., Professor of Sanscrit in the University of Oxford' from 1832 to 1860. No words in the 'Viney' Boswell list are marked in this way.

The preface with which the larger notebook begins reveals that the Smalley vocabulary 'was commenced in consequence of an encampment being made near the village of Smalley in the winter of 1832 and 1833. The writer of these remarks,' we are told, 'frequently visited them [the Gypsies], and sat with them round their Everl[asting] fire. They were a remarkably well conducted set of people, and generally three or four females, and as many men, attended divine worship at Smalley Chapel. The name of the tribe was Boswell, and the head of it, Lawrence Boswell, an old man, was almost in a dying state during the six months they remained at Smalley; and scarcely a week elapsed without some fresh branch of the family coming from a distance to pay respect to the venerable chief. The vulgar looked upon Lawrence Boswell as King of the Gypsies, but the idea was laughed at by the family, who asserted that no Gypsy tribe lay claim to the distinction of Royalty.'

The words recorded from Vaini ('Viney') Boswell were obtained after the preface from which I have been quoting had been written, and it is, consequently, impossible to say precisely when and where they were gathered. Judging from Miss Fox's letters and notes, however, it seems almost certain that the necessary interviews took place at either Smalley or Morley, and highly probable that Vaini Boswell's sojourn there occurred in the thirties or very early forties. On the scanty evidence available from other sources the most likely date is 1839, for on April the 7th of that year Samuel Fox baptized at Smalley 'Cornelius son of Samuel and Sarah Boswell, Itinerant Gipsies,' a grandson of Vaini's, and the only Boswell who appears in the Smalley and Morley Registers between 1829 and 1870. The Rev. Charles Kerry, historian of Smalley, in a muddled reference¹ to this event, says that the late rector of Morley 'was very diligent in his ministrations to Samuel Boswell, an aged member of the wandering fraternity which was then encamping in the parish, and [that] there is an entry in the Smalley Register commemorating either his death, or the baptism of one of his children.' Substitute Vaini for Samuel, and grandchildren for children, and this assertion becomes credible enough in the light of what has been said already. Moreover, it is then in keeping with the additional phrases found in Dr. Sampson's ms. which read: 'Where do you come from?' 'From Yorkshire.' 'How old are you?' 'I am very old.' But Vaini, who is said to

¹ *Jl. of the Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc., loc. cit.*

have died in the forties or fifties, cannot have been 'very old' in 1839, unless he married rather late in life, which is improbable.

According to Miss Fox, her father did not seriously pursue his Gypsy studies after 1840 or thereabouts. His kindly interest in Gypsies was, however, of much longer duration. 'The Boswells,' says Miss Fox, referring to the late forties and early fifties, 'used to camp in a lane near Morley, and my father often took us as children to see them. There were two brothers Moses and Aaron Boswell, and I think it was Moses and his family who came to Morley most frequently. He was an oldish man, and had a large number of children or grandchildren, one of whom I remember was called Gentilla. There was also a tall, very dark woman—a true Gypsy—the mother or grandmother of the family'; no doubt Trënit Heron, wife of Lawrence Boswell's son, Moses (who had a brother, Aaron), for she was tall and very dark, whilst her family by Moses included a daughter, Genti, born about 1843. Genti's sister, Emma, the only one of her generation now living, recollects these visits, which must have continued into the sixties, since her nephew, Lias Boswell, who was not born until 1853, could also remember them, though somewhat indistinctly. But, whilst Samuel Fox kept in touch with Lawrence Boswell's descendants during the latter part of his life, it is improbable that he saw much of Vaini's.

II

Lawrence Boswell¹ did not long survive his stay at Smalley during the winter of 1832-33, nor travel far away from it. 'We have to record the death,' says the *Derby Mercury* of June 19, 1833, 'at an advanced age, a few days since, of Lawrence Boswell, said to be King of the Gipsies. He had been in declining health a considerable time, and during the last two or three months was, with a part of his family, lying encamped in Draycot Lane,

¹ In 1910 I received from our late member, the Rev. George Hall, a skeleton pedigree of Lawrence Boswell's descendants; and up to the time of his death he mentioned them now and again in letters and conversation. Since then, through residence at Repton, I have come to know the family well, and have been able to add a great deal to the information he gave me; whilst his daughter, Miss Elsie Hall, has kindly permitted me to consult his amended and augmented pedigree. To Mr. John Myers and Mr. E. O. Winstedt I am indebted for some of the particulars given about the Bucklands connected with the Lawrence Boswell family. Mr. Winstedt has also supplied me with notes on the Tysoe Smiths, and copies of entries occurring in Bishop's transcripts of the registers of certain parishes in the Oxford diocese. Other register entries quoted or utilised without reference to any printed source I owe to the kindness of the present incumbents of the parishes mentioned.

between this town and Nottingham. As a proof that he was of some consequence among the fraternity, many tribes of gipsies from distant quarters assembled to bid him a last farewell. A coffin made of the best Norway oak was made to receive his remains, which are expected to be interred in the parish church of Wilne.'

This natural expectation was not fulfilled, the body being conveyed to Knowle in Warwickshire, a distance of some fifty miles. Here Lawrence's son and namesake, 'Young' Lawrence, had been buried eighteen years earlier, and the old man, it is said, wished to lie beside him. A resting-place within the church was sought for his remains, according to his descendants (who also declare that 'Young' Lawrence was interred intramurally); but if so the request must have been refused, for the tomb of the 'King of the Gypsies' at Knowle is outside the church walls, though attached to one of them. The inscriptions on it, re-cut some years ago when the masonry was repaired at the suggestion of the present vicar, the Rev. T. W. Downing, to whom I am indebted for information about several occurrences at Knowle, run as follows:

1. 'Sacred to the Memory of Larence Boswell who departed this life Jany. 6th 1815, in the 19th year of his age.'

2. 'Sacred to the Memory of Larance Father of Larance Boswell who departed this life June 18th 1833, in the 75th year of his age.'

The corresponding entries in the church registers read: '1815. Laurence Boss, Traveller, buried Jan. 2nd, aged 25'; and '1833. Lawrence Boswell, Gipsy, buried June 24th, aged 75.' Some lack of accord between the two statements referring to 'Young' Lawrence might be expected, as apparently the tomb was not erected until 1833 or later; but it is difficult to account for the six-year discrepancy in the ages assigned to one who died so young.

Lawrence Boswell's father is said to have been Dan Boswell; not, of course, the Dan buried at Selston, Notts., in 1821, 'aged 73,'¹ but an earlier Dan; possibly the one always referred to as 'the rough-rider,' from his having been in gentleman's service in this capacity for a while. His wives, or those of them about whom we have certain information, were Betty Buckland, who predeceased him by a great many years, and Margaret Boswell, always called Peggy, who was buried at Chellaston, near Derby, on December 29, 1842, at the reputed age of 80.

¹ *Jl. of the Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, loc. cit.

To Betty four of his children are usually assigned: Lucretia ('Norni'), a very beautiful woman and the subject of pictures by 'Mr. Oakley'¹ and Mr. Grimshaw, who died unmarried, and was buried at Wyrley, South Staffordshire, on December 10, 1861, 'aged 82'; Moses, who married first Saiëra Buckland, and then Trënit Heron, and had between-whiles temporary alliances with a Lementina Boswell 'from up London way,' and with Betty Atkins, and who was buried at Etwall, near Derby, on November 12, 1855, 'aged 70'; Sam, who wedded Tieni, daughter of Major Boswell and Mary Linyon, and was interred at Aldridge, near Walsall, in 1874, 'aged 87';² and Lucy, wife of Norwood's friend, Edward or Edwin Buckland, always known as 'Winggi,' whom she left a widower some time about 1850. To these some authorities are inclined to add Elizabeth, who resided for a great many years with her husband, 'Tinker' Jones, a son of James Williams and Hannah Smith, *alias* Boswell, at Knockadown, on the borders of the two Mid-Derbyshire parishes of Brassington and Hognaston, but died elsewhere, without issue, in the late sixties it seems. Others, however, regard this woman as Peggy's daughter, and so class her with the children usually given as Peggy's: 'Young' Lawrence, whose burial at Knowle I have already noticed; Aaron, who wedded Matilda, daughter of Edward and Phyllis Boswell, and was interred at Long Whatton, North Leicestershire, on June 3, 1866, 'aged 74'; Johanna or Jōni, who died unmarried somewhere in the same neighbourhood, probably in the early sixties; and Deloraifi, another old maid, who was buried as 'Delilah' Boswell at Ticknall, near Derby, on September 11, 1885, 'aged 85.'³

No other Lawrence Boswell contemporary with Fox's friend is known to Gypsy genealogists. It is, therefore, relevant to mention that a 'Laurence, son of Laurence Boswell,' a Gypsy, was interred at Raunds, Northamptonshire, on January 3, 1784; and that 'Hardmaid, Daughter of Lawrence Boswell and Carnation his wife,' was baptized at Adderbury in North Oxfordshire on January 31,

¹ 'Among our painters,' says Tom Taylor in 'Gipsy Experiences,' 'there is scarcely one, except Oakley, who has painted this people as they are.' *Vide* Groome, *In Gipsy Tents* (Edinburgh, 1881), p. 323.

² For this, and other occurrences at Aldridge mentioned later, see Groome, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-8.

³ As Lawrence Boswell's family began almost a century and a half ago, and he had at least two wives, there is, naturally, some doubt as to the female parentage of his children. The ascriptions given should, therefore, be accepted with a certain amount of reservation.

1787.¹ The elder of these children has, in fact, been claimed somewhat doubtfully by Lawrence's Derby descendants as a son of his who died in infancy; and it is not fatal to their claim to argue that Gypsies would never confer a dead child's name on one born to the same parent or parents, since Louie Boswell and her husband, James Smith of Sheffield, did so following the death of their infant son, James, and the birth a year or two later of another boy. Hardmaid, on the other hand, is quite unknown, by this strange name at any rate, to the Derby Boswells, who feel tolerably sure, besides, that their ancestor, Lawrence, never had a wife Carnation. But the child may, and surely must, have had a nickname conferred on her; whilst if the number of Lawrence's wives is not to be increased to three, one can still suppose, by way of argument if nothing else, that Betty may have deemed it expedient to give a wrong name. Gypsies have done so before now at the baptism of their children. Tom and Caroline Gray became 'William Joshua and Mary' when the youngest of their family, Augustus (Gus), was christened at Hogsthorpe, Lincolnshire, on September 17, 1870; Muldobriar and Marení Heron appear as 'Thomas and Martha' on a baptismal certificate obtained by their son, Noah, from Billington-on-Tees; and Charles and Union Lee figure as Charles and 'Mary' in an entry recording the baptism of their daughter, Kêrlenda, at South Wooton, near King's Lynn, on October 2, 1831.²

Near Adderbury is the village of Steeple Barton, and here 'Campin Boswell, a child six years old of the people called Gypsies,'³ was buried in 1786. Can this have been another of Lawrence's children? Conceivably it was, as his son, Moses, conferred this singular name, slightly altered to Campion, on one of his children, and thus provided the only other known instance of its use by Gypsies. But if so, and if Hardmaid and the Lawrence buried at Raunds be accepted as well, and if the ages assigned to Lucretia and Sam when they died were correct, it becomes necessary to credit Lawrence with six children born between 1779 and 1787, the last two, Hardmaid and Sam, remarkably close together. No more than one mother need be assumed, however, supposing Sam was a year younger than he thought, as he might very well be, for Campin and Lawrence fall in the six-year gap between Lucretia and Moses.

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, ii. 39.

² *Ibid.*, N.S., vi. 157.

³ *Ibid.*, Third Series, i. 79.

Lucretia, though it is neither a freak name like Hardmaid nor so unusual as Campin, is nevertheless very rare among Gypsies. Further, it has not been used by Bucklands for several generations so far as is known,¹ nor in any other Boswell family. Moses, of course, is common, but hardly characteristic of Boswells, and certainly not of Bucklands. It is interesting to note, therefore, that a Moses Smith and his wife, Lucretia, born in 1766 and 1776 respectively, according to the ages given when they died, settled at Tysoe, on the borders of Warwickshire and Oxfordshire, together with a considerable number of their children and grandchildren; that their descendants and Betty Buckland's have a strikingly large proportion of names in common, which is usually a sign of kinship or relationship among Gypsies;² and that a 'Betty ye d. of John and Susannah Buckley'—or Buckland, one may add, as the two surnames were not then strictly differentiated—was baptized at Middle Tysoe on April 6, 1764. To infer from this that Betty, daughter of John Buckland, and Betty, wife of Lawrence Boswell, were identical would be rash. But they may have been, for we do not know to a year or so when the latter's family began, nor when the former was born for that matter; and even if the dates should prove to be some time in 1779 and early in 1764, Gypsies have been mothers before they were sixteen. Indeed, early marriage, and what we should now call very early, does not seem to have been excessively rare among them in the past.

It is certain, anyhow, that Lawrence Boswell until he was nearing sixty, and Betty Buckland for so long as she lived, were very fond of the tract of country of which Tysoe with its broad green lanes was perhaps the natural centre. A day's journey to the south of Tysoe is Charlbury, where 'Winggi' Buckland was born, and where he was christened on August 1, 1790, as 'Edward, son

¹ Cf., however, *The Romany Rye*, chap. x., where Ursula Herne is made to say: '... Lucretia is not of our family, but one of the Bucklands; she travels about Oxfordshire...' Borrow's short ms. list of Gypsy names, printed in Knapp's *Life, etc.*, (vol. i. p. 34), does not include Lucretia; but he may very well have heard the name from the Herons, who were connected by marriage with the North Oxfordshire Smiths and the Bucklands prior to 1825, and with the Lawrence Boswell family shortly after. In the pedigrees collected and the records examined so far Lucretia occurs only among Smiths and Lawrence Boswell's descendants.

² A 'Lucretia Smith, Queen of the Gypsies, died 20th November 1844, aged 72,' lies buried in the same grave at Beighton in North Derbyshire as a 'Matilda Boswell, died 15th January 1844, aged 40,' according to Groome (*op. cit.*, p. 118), but I have not been able to ascertain who this couple were, though the Derby Boswells know of the grave, and speak vaguely of its occupants as 'some of our people.'

of Edward and Paradise Buckland, Travellers';¹ and where 'Sarah Buckland of this p[arish]' was married to 'Moses Boss of the par[ish] and town of Huntingdon in the c[ounty] of Huntingdon,' that is to Lawrence's son, Moses, on April 18, 1808. Knowle, to the north-west, is no further away, and here, besides the events already noticed, 'Edward Buckland of the parish of Charlbury in the county of Oxford, Bachelor, and Lucy Boswell, a spinster, of this parish' were married by licence on October 31, 1815, Johanna Boswell being cited in the registers as a witness. 'Winggi,' it may be noted, was then able to sign his name; a somewhat unusual accomplishment for a Gypsy at that date, but paralleled even earlier in the Buckland family, as Mr. Winstedt discovered on examining the marriage bonds relating to two Gypsy weddings celebrated by licence at Thame—those of 'Manuel Hearn and Rachel Smith, Gypsies,' on June 23, 1737, and of 'Will. Buckley and Aney Hearn, gypsies,' on the 15th of March following—for on the second document, which was drawn in the names of William Buckley and John Buckley (Buckley being altered from Buckland in both cases), he noticed a large uncertain signature scrawled by the latter.

According to Norwood,² 'Winggi' Buckland 'lived in a house and worked till he was 27,' which is given as his age at marriage, though he must have been 25 then, unless his christening was unduly delayed, and 73, not 75 as he said, when Norwood first made his acquaintance at Cheltenham in 1863. Whether or not he remained at Charlbury all the time is neither stated nor clearly implied. Perhaps he did, as on January 16, 1812, he and his parents, with three other Bucklands named William, Thomas, and Penelope, were committed on suspicion of stealing a quantity of honey and some bees at Spelsbury close by;³ a charge on which they were acquitted at the Oxford Assizes on March the 4th next,⁴ until when, presumably, they were kept in confinement, though 'Winggi' declared to Norwood that he never was in prison in his life. But if, as is not improbable, the elder Edward Buckland was long resident at Charlbury, he cannot have settled there before 1795, as on November 10, 1794 'Oshella Daughter of Edw. & Paradise Buckley Gypsies' was baptized at Hanslope in Buckinghamshire; and he certainly left the place after his son's marriage,

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iii. 216.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 204 and 216 *seqq.*

³ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, January 18, 1812.

⁴ *Ibid.*, March 7, 1812.

for in the November of 1820 he was arrested in Wiltshire for the murder of Judith Pearce in her cottage near Sutton Bridge in that county, a crime for which he was hanged in the following year.¹ From the only newspaper account of the affair known to Mr. Winstedt it appears that Judith (who may have been one of the travelling Pearces, perhaps the Judith, daughter of Thomas and Sarah Pearce, baptized at Olney, Bedfordshire, on February 23, 1769, aged 1½²) had shortly before 'refused to relieve' the prisoner, and that he had, in consequence, set fire to the thatch of her house; an exhibition of petulance and spite on his part that apparently gave rise to the teasing cry with which Buckland children assailed 'Winggi' in his old age: 'Who killed Judy Pearce because she wouldn't give him a match?' Pestered in this fashion, and bereft of a wife he had loved ('*Cómdóm lá misto*'), it is small wonder 'Winggi' appeared to Norwood to be a sad old man. Sad and Jewish-looking, is the kindly *rašai*'s description of him; seeming honest and good in a remarkable degree; friendly and communicative; and speaking Romani very deeply and fluently. 'I think of him,' he says, 'with great respect and regret.'

When he died at Ashchurch, near Tewkesbury, 'Winggi,' who travelled chiefly in Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and Somerset after his marriage to Lucy Boswell, was survived by one son, Job, and three daughters, Eldoraifi or 'Obadiri,' Rosanna, and Peggy. Job, who remained single all his life, is said to have been 'three shades darker than a beanstalk,' and the best fighter at his weight, which was something under eight stone, in the west of England. Eldoraifi and Rosanna married two brothers, Elijah and Sampson Lee, kinsmen possibly, as 'Winggi's' mother, Paradise, is suspected to have been a Lee; and from them the relatively important family of South Welsh Lees³ is descended. Peggy's husband was Alfred Smith, half-brother to Ned Smith of Cheltenham (Shandres's father); but besides the children she bore him she is usually credited with one by the Manuel or 'Mantis' Buckland whose real wife was Susan Colacut, a grand-daughter of Moses and Lucretia Smith of Tysoe. He was a son, by Sinfai, daughter of 'ravishing' Billy Buckland, of another Manuel Buck-

¹ *Ibid.*, November 25, 1820 (from the *Salisbury Journal*), and March 17, 1821; Morwood, *Our Gypsies in City, Tent, and Van* (London, 1885), p. 295.

² *The Register of the Parish of Olney*, transcribed by O. Ratcliffe (Bucks. Parish Reg. Soc., vol. 12), p. 353.

³ *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., viii. 197-8.

land, whose father, John, was almost certainly the Buckland who wedded Richard Heron's daughter, Sarah.¹

Saiëra Buckland, Moses Boswell's first wife, was not a sister of 'Winggi's,' as her marriage at Charlbury might have led one to expect; but she was 'own' cousin—which probably means first cousin—to him, according to old Emma Boswell, a daughter of Moses by his second wife, Trënit Heron. The same authority also asserts that Saiëra's parents predeceased her, though she died only a few years after her marriage in 1808; that her diamond-studded shoe-buckles, whose disposal on her demise I have alluded to elsewhere,² were handed over to 'old Maniwel Buckland,' the 'head' of her family; and that 'Winggi's' father was one of those who 'made the most to do about 'em.' This 'old Maniwel' must, I think, have been the Emmanuel Buckley who married Aquila Draper by licence at Castle Thorpe, Bucks., on October 28, 1769; a son, probably, of the 'Will Buckley and Amey Hearn' wedded in similar fashion at Thame in 1737/8, a few months after 'Manuel Hearn and Rachel Smith' were; and equally probably father of the John Buckland with a son, Manuel, whom I have just mentioned, for a 'John s. of Emmanuel and Aquila Buckley, strolling Gipsies,' was baptized at Tackley, not far from Charlbury, on March 3, 1776. Further, on collating the statements made by various Gypsy genealogists, it seems hardly less likely that 'Winggi' and Saiëra were nephew and niece of Emmanuel and Aquila, though they and John's son, Manuel, could all have been grandchildren of theirs. It may be noted, too, that this Manuel's children are said to have counted the sons and daughters of Absolom and Eleanor Buckland, with whom originated the only other Buckland family specially connected with the West Midlands in recent times, their second cousins; but as Manuel's wife, Sinfai, was also a Buckland it may have been she who was first cousin to Absolom or Eleanor, not Manuel.

The marriage of Moses Boswell to Saiëra Buckland resulted in the birth of three children, Sam in 1809, Nathan in 1810 or 1811, and Susan a year or two later. Susan had two daughters, Ester and Louisa, by the Sampson Lee mentioned above, prior to his marriage to Rosanna Buckland. Sam, who went to America in the late fifties, had two sons, M'Kenzie and Lõni, and a daughter,

¹ For Sarah Heron, and other descendants of Richard referred to subsequently, *vide* Mr. Hall's pedigree, *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vii. facing p. 81.

² *Ibid.*, Third Series, ii. 118.

Caroline (baptized as Caroline 'Bosworth' at Chellaston, near Derby, on July 29, 1849), by Graveleni Buckland, whose parents were James Buckland and Rebecca ('Yoki Diddly'), daughter of James Williams and Hannah Smith, *alias* Boswell; Rebecca, afterwards wife of Manful Boswell, a son of Shadrach Boswell and Cinderella Wood, being the woman Samuel Roberts interviewed at the Fitzwilliam Inn on Sheffield Moor.¹ Nathan, who was buried at Chellaston on April 25, 1848, aged 37, married Rōdi Heron, daughter of Richard Heron's son, Miller, and of Winifred Boswell, sister to Manful and Taiso. By her he had six children, all of whom either died prematurely or settled: Elijah, buried at Hognaston in Derbyshire on February 23, 1846, aged 12; Dillinder, died at Hucknall Torkard, near Nottingham, in 1923; Lucretia, died at the same place many years ago; George, died at Burton-on-Trent in 1923; Makēda (son), buried at Chellaston on September 27, 1858, aged 15; and Sampson, who died at Derby in 1899. Of these, only Sampson married a Gypsy—his father's cousin, Coralina Boswell, by whom he had sons named Walter, Nelson, and John Howard, and a daughter, Vashti. Rōdi herself died at Hucknall Torkard, at the house of her daughter, Dillinder, otherwise Mrs. Charles Cutts, who alone of this family has descendants travelling.

Moses Boswell married his second wife, Trēnit Heron, an elder sister of Rōdi's, at Duffield, near Derby, *circa* 1827; by licence, as he did his first wife, if traditional evidence for this may be accepted as reliable. He and Trēnit travelled widely in the Midlands, but were particularly fond of South Derbyshire, and hardly less attached to Warwickshire, where, in the Birmingham district more especially, Moses did a big trade in horses; a fact Trēnit was fond of recalling in her old age, when at times she would contrast her lot somewhat bitterly with the affluence she had once enjoyed. Sitting over the fire she would croon to herself a song of complaint, devoid of merit as such, and false in its implications, but of passing interest as a genuine Gypsy composition:

'I'm but a poor girl
In every degree.
Through my misfortin
Sure ther's a grumblin;
As takin' my sitivation
Ther's none to look on me.'

¹ *The Gypsies*, 4th ed. (London, 1836), pp. 211 *sqq.*; *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., v. 178.

She was then nearing 80, at which age or upwards of it she died about 1887, after surviving her husband for more than thirty years.

She and Moses had eight children, born between 1828 and 1843 apparently: Nelson and Isaiah, who are buried at Derby, as are their wives, Jane or Eldorai Boss, and her niece, Eldorai Sheriff; Clara, who died unmarried at Walton, near Burton-on-Trent; Campion, Maieni, and John, who did not live more than a few years between them; and Emma and Genti, of whom the former resides in Derby, where Genti died about 1914.

Nelson and his wife, whom I have mentioned at some length on a previous occasion,¹ had eight children: Louisa, who was born at Repton in the forties; Sophia and Shani, who died in infancy, and lie buried at Anslow, near Burton-on-Trent; Sarah, the only survivor to-day; Lias, who died suddenly at Derby on December 27, 1923, just seventy years after his birth on Mickleover Common hard by; Emily, who migrated to America, where her husband found work in the printing-rooms of the *Chicago Tribune*, or *Turbine* as her relations say; Lorēni, who married George Beaumont, and travelled with him until her death in 1922; and Charlie, a well-known figure in northern England and Scotland, who was born at Tutbury, near Burton-on-Trent, in the sixties, and buried at Derby, whither his body was brought from a distance, in the spring of 1924. He was the only member of this family who wedded a Gypsy, his wife being Emily Smith, daughter of Lander and Mudi, and granddaughter of the Staffordshire celebrity always referred to as Polly 'Tottles,'² though one of her parents was a Lovell and the other a Smith.

Isaiah Boswell, Nelson's brother, had only one son, Edward M'Kenzie, and one daughter, Daiona; and his sister Emma, but one daughter, Lementina, whose father, John Williams, was a gorgio from Kegworth in Leicestershire; whilst Genti, the youngest of Moses Boswell's offspring, though she had three children, Georgina, Sarah, and Jenny, by her first husband, George Ryde, a gorgio, had none by her second, Tom Sheriff, brother to Eldorai. For this batch of Lawrence's great-grandchildren there is not even one Gypsy marriage to record; but M'Kenzie and Daiona, whom I first saw at Repton on Boxing Day, 1923, with blackened faces and coloured paper streamers pinned to their clothes and head-

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, i. 16-18.

² *Ibid.*, Third Series, i. 19.

gear, the one playing a concertina and the other a tambourine, do travel at times.¹

The parish registers of Newington, Oxfordshire, notice the christening of 'Mary, dau. of John and Sarah Boswell, tr[avellers],' on January 4, 1778, and those of Bloxham, in the northern part of the same county, the baptism of 'Major, s. of John Boswell' on August 6, 1780. The younger of these children, a Gypsy surely though his father is not said to be one, must, I think, have been the Staffordshire Major whose daughter, Tieni, married Lawrence Boswell's son, Sam; for he is said by his descendants to have been the son of a South Midland Johnny Boswell who was almost unacquainted with Staffordshire; whilst the fact that he was an alleged centenarian when he died at Dresden, near Stoke, about 1877,² need not be taken seriously into account, as the ages of very old Gypsies are almost always exaggerated, and by ten years or so as a rule if they live beyond ninety.

Family traditions assert that as a young man 'Staffordshire' Major wandered north alone, earning his living as a fiddler. After a time he arrived at Longton in the Potteries, where, we are told, he was engaged to play for the dancing classes held at a young ladies' academy. The first and the second of these at which he was present passed without incident, but at the third or fourth a big bouncing girl answering to the name of Mary Linyon persisted in treading on his toes. She did it on purpose quite clearly, and Major recognising this, and attracted no doubt by her handsome face and wilful demeanour, was not slow to take the cue she afforded him. He spoke to her afterwards, ostensibly about her behaviour, but what they really said to one another is better judged from the fact that a night or two later Mary, who was no more than fifteen, jumped from a bedroom window into his cart drawn up beneath it, on to a thick pile of straw surmounted by blankets and a feather bed. Fleeing the district, and staying in quiet country places, they eluded capture for some time, though a hue and cry was raised, and a reward offered for information leading to their arrest. In the end, however, they fell into the hands of the police, and Major was charged with abduction. Of this he declared he was innocent; and so did Mary, who asserted

¹ Daiona married Harry Deverill.

² Morwood, *op. cit.*, p. 171 (quotation from the *Staffordshire Advertiser*). Major is there said to have been 108 when he died, but his grandson, O'Connor, reduces this estimate by six years. Probably he was under 100 by some two or three years.

from the witness-box that it was she who insisted on the elopement, not Major. As a result he was acquitted, whilst Mary, asked to decide whether she would return to her parents or remain with her lover, unhesitatingly chose the latter course.

Some say she was a gamekeeper's daughter, and others that her father was a farm bailiff or steward. No matter, she was, by all accounts, a woman of strong character, as Major, her children, and more particularly her daughters-in-law, seem to have discovered when they crossed her will; a great lover of order and cleanliness, of fine clothes, old china, and shining silver; an expert needlewoman, who taught the craft to her daughters and grand-daughters with considerable success; an equally expert *dukerrer* after a little practice in the art; and, if Lias Boswell may be believed, the 'best Gypsy of the lot of 'em.' Moreover, she bore Major seventeen children, though I have not as yet identified more than nine with any certainty: Alfred, who married a Hannah Heron of unknown parentage; John, whose very respectable gorgio wife hailed from Dudley, where he settled and died; Adolphus, keeper of the 'fish ponds' at Portobello, near Wolverhampton, for many years, and husband of Trēnit Gibbs, a Gypsy or *poč-rat* belonging to a fiddling family;¹ Tom, whose wife, Jane Tanzy, an Irish traveller, died at Portobello; M'Kenzie, who used to be about Stoke a good deal; Lipi, wife of Aaron Lee, a very wealthy horse-dealer buried at Wrenbury, Cheshire, in 1869, 'aged 69'; Emily, who like Alfred, Adolphus, Tom, and Major himself, was interred within the area of the 'Five Towns'; Edingale, who migrated Londonwards with her husband, Bartholomew, a Boswell too, I think; and Tieni, one of the oldest of the family though I have mentioned her last.

She and Sam, son of Lawrence Boswell, travelled chiefly in Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire until they settled at Aldridge, near Walsall, where Sam was buried in 1874, and Tieni some years later. They had seven children: Britannia, Delilah, Seth, Matilda, Benjamin, Leonard, and Phoebe. Britannia, who specialised in the making of elaborately tucked shirts, died unmarried in 1877, and was interred at Aldridge. Delilah, a notable beauty in a good-looking family, also died unmarried, on October 8, 1858, at the age of 33, and was buried at Wolverley, near Kidderminster. A fractious horse threw her, and

¹ Cf. the baptism of 'Martha, daughter of William and Elizabeth Gibbs, Travellers,' at Shiplake, Oxon., on Aug. 5, 1792.

then kicked her on the head, and though she lingered a while in her parents' camp on Kinver Edge, to which throngs of curious people streamed out from Kidderminster and other places, there was never any chance of her recovering.¹ Matilda married a farmer named Edward Roberts, and resided with him near Wolverhampton for the remainder of her days. And Phoebe, a really clever needlewoman, who is said to have won a prize open to all Staffordshire with a piece of silk embroidery two and a half feet long by two feet wide depicting an embattled hall, wedded her cousin, O'Connor Boswell, son of Tom, at Aldridge about 1860, and left him with two daughters, Melinda and Laura, on her premature decease.

Seth married first Darklis Buckland, daughter of Absolom (whose grave is at Bloxwich, near Walsall), and then Ester Lee, daughter of his cousin, Susan Boswell, but had no issue by either wife. For many years he camped more or less permanently at Moseley Holes on the eastern outskirts of Wolverhampton, one of the best-known *ac-ing tans* in England, since Gypsies from north, south, east, and west meet and have long met there. He died on the other side of the town though, 'out Foaming Jug way.'

Benjamin, noted for the fineness and whiteness of his linen, and the splendour of his silver plate, to which he added a gold bucket² eight inches high, was the father of a child named Froniga, now resident in Derby, by his cousin, Coralina Boswell, daughter of Aaron, to whom he was formally betrothed but never married. He next lived with Sini Buckland, sister to Darklis; and then he wedded his cousin, Elvaira Boswell, who is buried, like her father, Tom, somewhere in the Potteries. By her he had at least nine children—Trypheni, Laura, Rabi, Herbert, Miriam, Joshua, Percy, Benjamin, and Albert—not one of whom he would touch or kiss until it was a year old lest he should become *moxadi*, though he did not mind poking and tickling young babies with straws and twigs, and otherwise providing for their amusement.³

When Benjamin's family began I do not know, but one of his children, probably Laura, was christened privately at Aldridge in 1857, in a robe that excited admiring comment; and nine years later another daughter, Miriam, was baptized as 'Miriam

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, vol. ii. (1880), p. 362; and a very interesting letter from Mr. Thomas Cave of Broadwaters, Kidderminster.

² Cf. Nikola Tšoron's silver bucket (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., vi. 277).

³ Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, i. 35.

Kate Agnes, daughter of Benjamin and Mira Boswell, cutler and brazier,' at Hill, near Sutton Coldfield.¹ Nor am I very sure what became of some of them, though Rabi and his wife, Rebecca, a daughter of Adolphus Boswell, are at Stoke, where they have camped for many years; and Herbert and Albert are or were living in houses there; whilst 'Young' Benjamin died recently at Bradley or Pipe Gate not far away. It was at Stoke too, or possibly at Hanley where Rodney Smith conducted a great mission in the early eighties, that Trypheni and Miriam met the Salvation Army officers whom they subsequently married; after which, it is said, Trypheni 'went abroad into foreign parts to preach at the blacks,' and very soon met her death there; whereupon her father, overcome by grief, bestowed all his wealth on the Salvationists at home. But here, I think, we are getting outside the bounds of sober truth.

Leonard, who outlived the rest of Sam Boswell's children, married Eliza, daughter of the Moses Smith² and Susanna Butler whose sons included that famous trio of fighting men, Moses, Isaiah, and Sylvester; and had by her a son, Alfred, and a daughter whose name I have not heard. Like Moses and Isaiah Smith he was attracted after a time towards the southern outskirts of Manchester, where he, and they, did a very big trade in horses for many years. In his old age, and subsequent to the death of his wife at Ashton-under-Lyne, he settled at Cheadle near Stockport, not far away from Moses, who eventually became a house-dweller at Wimslow, or from Isaiah, who rested his caravan finally at Altrincham.

Both Sam Boswell and his half-brother, Aaron, are said to have married relatives; but, whereas no definite information is forthcoming as to how Sam and Tieni were related, Aaron's wife, Matilda, daughter of Edward and Phyllis Boswell, is stated positively to have been his first cousin a generation removed, her father being a nephew of either Lawrence or Peggy Boswell.³ Born about 1800 or very shortly afterwards, she was the eldest of a considerable family, which included among others, Seth, Uriah, Phyllis, Betsy, and Delilah, before it came to an end with the birth of Josiah, who was christened, as 'Josiah s. of Edward

¹ Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales* (London, 1899), p. 295.

² A son of Woodfine Smith, joint ancestor with 'Maia of the 'Birmingham' Smiths.

³ Edward Boswell's wife, Phyllis, was not a Boswell by birth. Possibly she was a Lee.

and Phyllis Boswell, (abode) anywhere, a Gypsey,' at Charlbury, Oxon., on November 23, 1823, and buried at Guide Bridge, near Ashton-under-Lyne, in July 1873, when his age was given, wrongly it will be seen, as 48.¹ His widow, Betsy, daughter of Anselo and Eliza Boss, and sister to Nelson Boswell's wife, Jane, then migrated to Scotland, where she died, at Callendar Riggs, near Falkirk, in November 1902, 'aged 76,'² leaving behind her a numerous progeny of whom I shall have something to say at a later stage. Meanwhile, Uriah had been interred, in Somerset probably, and possibly at the village near Bath where there is said to be a tomb, with the Lord's prayer in Romani inscribed on it, commemorating a Yūi or Hughie Boswell; and Seth had gone to America, with kinsfolk whose names are unknown to the Derby Boswells; but what had become of Phyllis, Betsy, and Delilah has yet to be ascertained.

Matilda's descendants call her a Devonshire Boswell; and certainly her people were at one time intimately connected with North Devon, where her father, Edward, was well known as a Gypsy 'king.' He died on December 24, 1851, 'aged 75,' and was interred at Swymbridge, near Barnstaple, by the famous sporting parson, John Russell, to whom, according to his biographer, the dying Gypsy presented a 'silver Spanish coin' he had long worn as a charm, and bequeathed his rat-catcher's belt—actions that remind me of Deloraifi Boswell's dying gift of an 'Indian toe-ring,' believed to be possessed of magic properties, to the Sir John Harper-Crewe who then occupied Calke Abbey, near Ticknall. Two days after Edward's funeral, it appears, a daughter of his who seemed to be hale and hearty predicted, quite correctly as things turned out, that she would be the next person buried by Russell. This was Matilda, who died little more than a fortnight later—on January 11, 1852, to be precise—and was interred in Swymbridge churchyard.

A somewhat earlier entry in the Swymbridge register records the baptism on December 25, 1843, of Aaron, son of Seth and Jane Boswell, the father, no doubt, being Matilda's brother, Seth, whom Russell knew, and in a sense admired; as well he might, for had not this stalwart fellow and his men, unbidden and without a hint of their intention, guarded his house nightly from burglars at a

¹ Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 118. See also *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, iii. 91.

² *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, vol. xii. (1903), p. 428; *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., i. 366; *ibid.*, Third Series, iii. 83.

time when a particularly dangerous gang was meeting with continued success in the neighbourhood. The *raşai* had done them some kindness, I expect, or perhaps merely trusted them when another would not. Indeed, the Gypsy who wished to purchase on credit a horse belonging to the blacksmith at Partridge Wells, near Eggesford, and whose integrity Russell guaranteed by offering to pay for it himself in the event of his defaulting, was probably one of Edward's sons, or if not, then a kinsman of theirs. Whoever he was, he faithfully discharged his debt.¹

Aaron and Matilda had twelve children, ranging from Joseph, born about 1822, through Phyllis (also recorded as Katherine), Theophilus, Moses, Uriah, Selina, Amereta, Edward, Coralina, Georgina, and Rachel, to Hezekiah, who was some twenty years younger than Joseph. Of these Phyllis and Rachel died in infancy, whilst three more never married: Moses, who was christened at Horbling in the Lincolnshire fens on April 24, 1825, and interred as a middle-aged man at Whitwick in North Leicestershire; Edward, who died at Derby, in the eighties or very early nineties, I believe; and Selina, who certainly grew up, but did not, it seems, live so long as any of her brothers.

The remaining seven wedded Gypsies or gorgios according to their sex. Amereta's husband was Henry Lee, described as a London-side Gypsy, though I cannot identify him as such. By him she had a son, John, and a daughter, Sarah. Coralina, who was born at Melbourne, near Derby, christened at Castle Donnington close by (with Lady Hastings as one of her godmothers), and buried at Derby in 1911 or 1912, aged 74 or thereabouts, was, as I have pointed out, the mother of Froniga Boswell by her cousin, Benjamin, and of Walter, Nelson, Vashti, and John Howard by her cousin Nathan's son, Sampson Boswell. Georgina, who died at Derby in the eighties, married Coralina's son, Nelson, and bore him children named Lawrence, Louisa, Elsie, and Algar, of whom the three last named failed to survive their infancy, whilst Lawrence was mentally defective.

Joseph, who died about 1892 at Griffydam in North Leicestershire, and was interred either at Coleorton or Ibstock, married Katherine Hack, a very respectable gorgio, who lies buried at Belton in the same neighbourhood. He had a son, John, christened as 'John, son of Joseph and Catherine Bosworth,' at Chellaston,

¹ E. W. L. Davies, *Memoir of the Rev. John Russell*, new ed. (London and Exeter, 1902), pp. 193-6; *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., iv, 319.

near Derby, on July 29, 1849, and a daughter, Rozaina; John being the well-known Nottingham horse-dealer—he moved to Cheltenham eventually—whom Mr. Hall has described.¹ Theophilus, who died at Derby in 1872, some forty-eight years after his birth at Castle Donnington, and ten years prior to the death of his wife, Elizabeth Freeman, a butler's daughter from Hathern in North Leicestershire, I have mentioned on an earlier occasion² as the first of these Boswells to settle in Derby. His family again was a small one, for besides Caroline, now wife of Nelson Boswell (son of Sampson and Coralina), he had only three other children, Ada, Phyllis, and Delilah, all of whom died young. Nor were Uriah and his wife, Sarah Orme, a gorgio, and Hezekiah and his wife, Elizabeth, another gorgio, any more prolific; for Uriah, who was buried at Ticknall, near Derby, on July 27, 1883, 'aged 57,' had no more than two children, Selina and William; whilst Hezekiah, who was long resident at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, where he died in 1904, was the father of Elsie, John, and Emma, and but one daughter besides. Moreover, only Nelson and Caroline of Aaron's grandchildren married Gypsies, so far as I can discover; and they are unrepresented on the roads.

Most of Lawrence Boswell's sons and grandsons were tinkers and grinders, whilst many of them dealt in horses as well, often with considerable success, and on quite a large scale. In addition, they were all fiddlers, for the Heron blood which might have made Moses's sons, Nelson and Isaiah, unmusical did not in fact do so, though in the next generation George and Charlie, who were partly of Heron descent, gave proof of it, according to Lias, a fine performer himself, by their inability to distinguish one tune from another. But, whilst Aaron's sons were characteristic of Lawrence's descendants in their occupations and love of music, they departed notably from the family, and indeed from the usual Boswell, type in being, with one exception, either tall or tallish; as I realised first on examining the remarkably complete collection of old photographs of her father's people that Caroline has got together. This tallness, neither degenerating into lankiness, nor obscured by superfluous flesh as it was with the one or two

¹ *The Gypsy's Parson* (London, 1915), pp. 152-6.

² *J. G. L. S.*, Third Series, i. 15-16. From 1872 to 1878 the Rev. Sholto Douglas Campbell Douglas, afterwards Baron Blythswood of Blythswood, was curate of All Saints, Derby; and he, according to the Boswells, followed the example of Samuel Fox, and Dr. Booker of Measham and Appleby Magna, in investigating their language at first hand.

of Mary Linyon's descendants who resembled her physically, they owed to her mother, Matilda, who was of rather more than the average stature herself, and had, besides, two brothers, Uriah and Josiah, who were tall for Boswells, and one, Seth, who has been described as a giant.¹

Whence these Devonshire Boswells derived their height is as much a mystery as the origin of the loose-limbed tallness so characteristic of the Locks, who are, it may be remembered, descended from a Henry Lock whose real name was Boswell.² He travelled Devonshire too, and indeed made it his chief centre, though he was also familiar with Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, and London; but whether or not he was closely akin to Matilda's father, Edward, it is impossible to say, and perhaps idle to conjecture. All I know is that his son, Matthew, who was a very big man, is said by Esmeralda Lock, and by her godfather, the Rev. S. B. James, to have been a cousin, not necessarily of the first degree, of the diminutive Memberensi Boswell whom he married about 1800; that Memberensi's parents, 'Perun' Boswell and Lipi Lee according to Mr. Hall's information, travelled the Thames valley country and the West Midlands as far north as Staffordshire; that as Noah Lock gives 'Perun's' real name as Henry, it is virtually certain that Memberensi was a younger sister of the 'Doroithy d. of Henery Boswell and Lepeny his wife of Worly [Wyrley] bank in Stafordshire' baptized at Chadlington, close to Charlbury, on October 12, 1766; that Memberensi and the little Major Boswell who came from the South Midlands into Staffordshire were closely akin, and very probably first cousins, if claims made by their descendants are reliable; that the exceedingly rare and apparently extinct name, Lipi or Lipani, was borne by one of Major's daughters, and by no other Gypsy, except Memberensi's mother, of whom we have any knowledge; that Major was somehow related to Lawrence Boswell, or possibly to his wife, Peggy, before he became Sam's father-in-law; and, finally, that the Edward Boswell buried at Swymbridge was Lawrence's nephew or Peggy's.

(To be concluded.)

¹ Aaron himself was small, and so was his sister, Deloraifi, whilst Jöni was very tiny.

² *J. G. L. S.*, N.S., viii. 177 *sqq.*

III.—STUDIES IN ROMANI PHILOLOGY

By ALFRED C. WOOLNER

III

THE VERB SUBSTANTIVE

WHEN discussing the Present Indicative we reserved for separate consideration the verb 'to be.'

This verb in many languages is of composite origin, as in English *am, be, is, are, was*. No wonder, then, if this should be true of Romani also, and the resultant complex difficult to disentangle.

First we may place on one side *uvela*, 'becomes,' and the other forms from this root. Whether it be *uvel-a* or *uve-la* this form corresponds to the Hindi *hoe*, and *uv-* to the Hindi root *ho* which is descended from the Sanskrit root *bhū*, Present Indicative *bhavati*.

Forms of this word are widely spread in India. To Hindi *hoe* correspond Panjabi *hove*, Sindhi *hue*, Oriya *hue*, Marathi *hoī*.

Dardic languages have initial *b*, Khowār *bōi*, Shinā *bom* (1.s.).

Some Pahari dialects retain *bh*, Bhadrawāhī fut. *bholo*, Pādari *bhol*.

For the consonant *v* absent in Hindi we may compare:—

<i>sov-</i>	and H.	<i>so-nā</i> , 'to sleep.'
<i>rov-</i>	„	<i>ro-nā</i> , 'to cry.'
<i>t'ov-</i>	„	<i>dho-nā</i> , 'to wash.'
<i>sov-nakai</i>	„	<i>so-nā</i> , 'golden.'
<i>ov</i>	„	<i>wo</i> , 'he.'
<i>jov</i>	„	<i>jau</i> , 'barley.'
<i>juv</i>	Sindhi	<i>dzū</i> , 'louse.'
<i>siv-</i>	Hindi	<i>sī-nā</i> , 'to sew.'

For the omission of *h* (as in Kashmiri) compare *(w)ast* (Skt. *hasta-*, H. *hāth*), *viv* (Skt. *hima-*), *(w)ušt* (Skt. *oṣṭa-*, H. *honth*).

This root *uv*, it appears, can be derived from neither Iranian nor Dardic.

Now we come to the verb 'to be' proper, e.g., as in Paspāti's scheme:—

S.	P.
1. <i>isóm</i>	<i>isám</i>
2. <i>isán</i>	<i>isán</i>
3. <i>isí</i>	<i>istí</i>

We may at once accept the view of Miklosich that *isdn* is really a 3rd person plural in origin, and that the plural *ist* is really singular, though we need not attempt to derive these forms directly from Sanskrit *santi*, 'they are,' and *asti*, 'he is.'

This suggests an older scheme something like:—

S.	P.
1. <i>isom</i>	<i>isam</i>
2. 3. <i>isi</i>	<i>isan</i>

Is the initial vowel original? Other dialects have *som* (*šom*) and *san* (*šan*): *isan* might be formed by analogy with *isi*. Asiatic *asti*, *esti* may be influenced by Persian *ast* and Greek *esti*, and it does not appear to be the origin of *isi* for Romani retained *st*.

Similarly in Iranian languages we find *šam*, *sōm*, 'I am'; *šī*, 'he is,' but also Gilakī¹ *isam(a)*, 'I am'; *isī*, 'thou art'; *isan*, 'they are.' (The initial vowel is also found long.)

In the Iranian area we have very probably a mixture of forms from the root *šu* with forms from the root *as*. But as some dialects replace *š* by *s*, e.g. Sariqoli *saud*, Shighni *sūd* for Persian *šavad*, *šud*, it may be impossible to distinguish the two groups in every case.

If the same were true of Romani, several forms would be ambiguous, e.g., *som*, 'I am,' might be a shortened form of *isom* or a dialectic form of *šom*, just as, I take it, German Romani *hom* is only a phonetic variant of *som*.

Let us look now at the Bohemian paradigm:—

S.	P.
1. <i>som</i>	<i>sam</i>
2. <i>sal</i>	<i>san</i>
3. <i>hi</i>	<i>hi</i>

This is obviously a mixture. *San* is really 3rd person plural. *Sal*, found also in Hungarian Romani, is, I suggest, 3rd person singular formed on the analogy of *jal*, 'he goes,' *dal*, 'he gives' from *san*. *Hi* looks like a German Romani form (or a form belonging to the tribe which went on into Germany) which has prevailed in the 3rd person. In German Romani, of course, the substitution of *h* for *s* is regular. The same change occurs between vowels in Hungarian and Bohemian Romani: e.g. *kerdahas* for *kerdasas*, *kerehas* for *keresas*, *manuseha* but

¹ South-west corner of the Caspian Sea.

manusensa. When *si* was closely attached to a participle or an adjective it might undergo this change, and then *-hi* would be detached from the phrase and treated as the separate form.

Hi cannot be related to the Indian and Dardic forms beginning with *h* because Romani drops Indian *h*.

It is curious that Anglo-Romani also has a different initial in the 3rd singular *sī* from that in *šom*, *šan*.

For Russian Romani are recorded plural forms *samas*, *sanas*. These should mean 'were' according to the evidence of other dialects. That *samas* is a genuine old form for 'we are' is perhaps possible, though I think unlikely.

As a kernel for the purposes of comparison we may thus extract:—

S.	P.
1. (i) <i>som</i> and <i>šom</i>	<i>sam</i> (? <i>samas</i>)
2. 3. <i>sī</i>	<i>san</i>

With *šom* compare Pashtu *šam*, Sariqoli *som*, Shighni *savum* from *šu* as in Persian *šudan*.

With (i)*som* compare Dardic forms *asum*, *azem*, *esmo* (? Kalāshā *āsam*), Gilakī (Iranian) *isam*.

With *sī* (leaving aside Pashtu *šī*) compare Bashgali (a)*ze*, Veron (e)*so*, *ese-lā*, Gilakī *isī* (2.s.), *isa*.

In India we find in Pahari forms like *osō*, *asō*, *āsā*, meaning 'he is.' These seem to be connected with forms meaning 'was,' e.g., Panjabi *sā* (masc.), *sī* (fem.), 'he, she was.' (While Kului, etc., uses *sā* for 'is.')

Beames (iii. 176) derived the Panjabi forms from the old imperfect of root *as*; this in Prakrit is *āsi*, which is used for all persons and both numbers. This is very doubtful. Some of these forms may be from the root *ās*, 'to sit, exist.'¹

With *sam* (? *samas*) compare Gilakī *isīm*, Bashgali *azemis*, Veron *esemso*.

With *san* compare Gilakī *isan* (? Kalāshā *āsān*), Panjabi, etc., *san*, 'were.'

Wlislocki and Ješina give 3rd pers. sing. plur. *hin*.

Chameali has *hin*, 'they are,' but this is only a coincidence.

¹ Marathi *ase*, 'he is,' etc., are derived from the same root as Romani *aś*, 'to stay,' Kashmiri *chus*, 'I am' and so on, Prakrit *acchai*. Vide J. Bloch, *Formation de la Langue Marathe*, p. 289.

Marathi, Sindhi *āhe*, 'he is' is connected with Hindi, Panjabi *hai*, and whatever be its derivation, does not help us. J. Bloch, p. 294.

Asti and the negative *nāsti* have often survived side by side with forms from other sources.

In most Prakrits *asti* > *atthi*, in Persian *ast* remains. Compare Bashgali *ašt*, 'they are' beside (a)ze, 'he is,' Gilakī *ista*, 'he is' beside *isa*. So we need not regard *asti* as the original of (i)si.

We cannot expect definite geographical indications from forms so ambiguous. There are resemblances to Iranian, Dardic, and Panjabi forms.

An important question connected with the forms of the verb 'to be' is that of the analysis of what Paspati called 'Aorist' and Miklosich 'Praeteritum.'

Is *kerdas* contracted from *kerdo-(is)as*?

Or did *din(o)-i(s)om* become *diniom* and then *dinom*? (Paspati, p. 97.) In other words, are the endings of this tense simply remnants of the verb substantive?

The forms are certainly based on the past participle.

1st person *kerdom*, plural *kerdam*, and 2nd person *kerdan* obviously follow the analogy of *som*, *sam*, *san*. Moreover, some dialects have 2nd sing. *kerdal* corresponding to *sal*.

We have a parallel formation in the Persian *karda-am*, 'I have done,' *karda-ast*, 'he has done,' *karda-īm*, 'we have done,' *karda-and*, 'they have done,' unless indeed *-am* is pronominal, as in *pidar-am*, 'my father,' following the analogy of which one might think of *kerdo-m*.

In *kerdas* we probably have *kerdo-as*, *-as* being used to form a past tense, and consequently the 'Second Aorist' need not add another *-as*: *kerdom*, *kerdomas* but only *kerdas*, though Rumanian Romani completes the table with *kerdasas*. The plural *kerde* needs no addition.

If we were looking for pronominal endings it would be tempting to recognise *-m* for 'I, by me,' *-s* for 'he, by him,' and *-n* 'by them.'

Examples could be quoted from the Dardic family and also from India, e.g., Western Panjabi (Lahndā) *ditto*s, 'gave,' which is explained as *ditto*, 'given,' plus *-s*, 'by him' (cf. *I. L. S.*, ix. ii. p. 35).

Sir George Grierson has shown also that the use of such pronominal affixes is a feature of the Outer Band of Indo-Aryan languages, both in the north-west and in the east.

There is, however, no clear evidence of anything of the kind in Romani. We have seen that no pronominal suffixes are added to nouns. (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ix. p. 128.)

To complete the discussion of this question we should glance at the ending of the 'Imperfect' and Pluperfect. The regular addition of *-as*, which, as Beames wrote long ago, has no parallel in India, is probably schematic, i.e., an extension by analogy of what happened in particular instances, perhaps in one single type. If so, where should we look for its origin?

(i) In the 3rd sing. aorist of the type *kerdas*?

If so, is this the past participle *plus* a pronominal suffix?

Why not *kerdos*? Or is it the past participle *plus* a form from *as*, 'to be,' like Persian *karda-ast*?

Of the two the latter seems more likely.

(ii) In the 3rd sing. imperfect of the type *kerelas*?

Many years ago Sir George Grierson pointed out the resemblance between *kerela*, *kerelas* and Bhojpuri *kare-lā*, *karelās*. Now, I believe, he regards this as only coincidence, but there remains the question what is the derivation of Bhojpuri *karelās*?¹

Whatever be the history of *kerdas* and *kerelas*, I think the other forms could have arisen by analogy with either of these.

IV.—CONTRIBUTION TO THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF SERBIAN GYPSIES

By Dr. VIKTOR LEBZELTER

IN the year 1916 I had the opportunity of taking anthropological measurements of forty-five Serbian Gypsies, who were prisoners of war. It may be thought that that number is not very large, and that is true; but my material is very homogeneous. Our knowledge of Serbian Gypsies we owe chiefly to the excellent Serbian student, T. Gjorgjević, and of the three Gypsy strata he finds in Serbia the first (*turski Cigani*) and the third (white Gypsies) are Mohammedans. The second—the Rumanian Gypsies, who came in with the other Rumanian inhabitants of Serbia in the seventeenth century—are Christians. All my material I got from the Christian stratum: but only seven individuals told me that they

¹ A Sanskritist might think of the old perfect *āsa* which could be used to form the perfect of causatives: e.g., *corayati*, 'he steals,' *corayām-āsa*, 'I, he, ye stole' (cf. *coravas*, 'I stole'): but this seems too remote, for there is no sign of this *āsa* in the Prakrits.

A past tense in *-as* is formed by some non-Aryan Himalayan languages with a Muṇḍā substratum. *Linguistic Survey of India*, iii. pt. 1, p. 487, *gās*, 'made,' p. 508, *dānas*, 'gavest,' *dāgas*, 'I have given.'

I can offer no explanation of these forms.

were Rumanian Gypsies, all the others calling themselves Serbians. Nearly all of them came from North-West Serbia: and all of them were sedentary.

I give here only a brief extract of my investigations. Fuller results, with a list of the Gypsies, may be found in the *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, Bd. lii. (Wien, 1922), pp. 23-42.

The hair of their heads was very thick: and all of them had smooth hair of the same kind as that of the Hungarian and Bosnian Gypsies. Its colour was in 21 cases pure black, in 12 brownish-black, in 4 dark brown, in 1 light brown, in 2 dark blonde, in 1 grey.

The colour of their skin was in 15 cases yellowish-white, in 14 yellowish, in 1 olive-yellow and in 2 light brownish.

The colour of their iris was in 2 cases black-brown, in 18 dark brown, in 16 brown, in 2 greenish-grey, in 1 brownish-grey, and in 1 greenish-brown.

On the average the total height amounted to 1627 mm. 14% are short, 24% tall, or very tall.

Measurements and indices of head and face:—

Length of head 185.5 mm. (168-198).	Cephalic index 78.30 (72.49-88.76).
Breadth of head 147.0 mm. (135-154).	L.-H. index 64.86 (54.76-72.32).
Auricular height 120 mm. (104-130).	B.-H. index 83.36 (71.41-90.58).
Facial breadth 135.6 mm. (125-149).	Facial index 88.38 (81.20-99.28).
Bigonial ¹ breadth 106 mm. (87-125).	Upper facial index 50.20 (42.37-59.85).
Morph. facial height 120 mm. (108-137).	Nasal height 52 mm. (41-61).
Morph. upper facial height 67.7 mm. (58-82).	Nasal breadth 33 mm. (28-43).
	Nasal index 63.33 (45.90-90.24).

For comparison see the following table:—

	Maximum length of body.	Cephalic index.	Greatest breadth of face.
White Bosnian . . .	1729	82.11	136
Black Bosnian . . .	1678	76.36	135
Hungarian . . .	1665	79.23	139
Bulgarian . . .	1656	77.37	...
Turkish . . .	1636	78.01	137
Tartar . . .	1634	...	138
Serbian . . .	1627	78.30	135
Rumanian . . .	1612	78.59	139.9

¹ Greatest breadth of the lower jaw.

Of 952 Gypsies, who have been investigated, there were :—

dolichocephalic (66.75-99)	. . .	20.9%
mesocephalic (76.00-80.99)	. . .	59.5%
brachycephalic (81.00-85.99)	. . .	17.9%
hyperbrachycephalic (86.00-91)	. . .	1.7%

With regard to these facts I must say that among the Balkan Gypsies of the present day only one racial element is predominant, and that is a moderately dolichocephalic one. Of the sedentary White Bosnian Gypsies we know for certain that they have been very deeply influenced by the non-Gypsy Mohammedans. The material of A. Weisbach is very mixed. His Gypsies have names of Hungarian, Jugoslav, Rumanian, Ukrainian, Slovak, and Romani origin. Taking into account their other physical characteristics I cannot find any evidence for the existence of two distinct Gypsy types, one brachycephalic, as suggested by Iwanowski. Of my Serbian Gypsies 18% are dolichocephalic, 65% mesocephalic, 15% brachycephalic, and 2% hyperbrachycephalic. Further, 7% are chamaecephalic, 13.5% orthocephalic, 68.5% moderately hypsicephalic (63.0-67.99), and 11% highly hypsicephalic (over 68.00).

Not only the cephalic index, but also the nasal index, shows a valuable similarity between the various series :—

Percentage of	hyperleptorrhin	leptorrhin	mesorrhin	platyrrhin
Serbian Gypsies	11	69	18	2
Rumanian Gypsies	45		50	5
Turkish Gypsies	58		35.5	6.5

The facial indices are in half of my material mesen- and leptoprosopic.

SUMMARY

From an analysis of all the published series of measurements of Balkan Gypsies I am convinced that the original type is dark, smooth-haired, moderately short, mesocephalic, and moderately hypsicephalic, leptorrhin, and perhaps leptoprosopic. In their physical structure the Serbian Gypsies, like their neighbours in Rumania, show this original element more clearly than the more mixed Gypsies of Hungary.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

14.—RUMANIAN GYPSIES

The following quotations from M. Paul Labbé's *La Vivante Roumanie* (Paris, 1913) do not add very much to our knowledge of Gypsies, but they may be reprinted here:—

Page 16.—'Sur la rive roumaine [of the Danube] des tsiganes ont établi des campements; leurs enfants, tout nus, jouent et se roulent au bord de l'eau, tandis que les femmes, très sales, préparent une soupe de poisson qui fume sur un foyer ardent.'

Page 23.—'Je me penche à la portière. Nous passons devant un campement de tsiganes. Sveltes et bronzés, ce sont des hommes superbes; lascives et distinguées, même sous les haillons, quelques femmes dansent, joyeuses d'être caressées par un rayon de soleil, sans se soucier de ce que peut contenir la marmite qui bout au-dessus d'un grand feu.'

"Voilà les ménétriers de nos villages et les musiciens de nos villes," me dit un de mes compagnons de route, "ceux qu'un de vos géographes appelait les troubadours de Roumanie, troubadours qui savent chanter et aussi faire chanter. Ils ont fait tous les métiers et les moins honnêtes ne les effraient pas. Ils volaient jadis pour qui les employait; ils trouvent très bon aussi de voler pour eux-mêmes; d'ailleurs ils sont prêts toujours à collaborer à quelque affaire louche ou à préparer un méchant coup." Et mon voisin ajouta en souriant, comme si un souvenir agréable lui passait par l'esprit: "Qu'importe, leurs femmes sont si jolies."

'Assimilés aux paysans en 1837, les tsiganes de Valachie ont été émancipés avec eux. On peut les diviser aujourd'hui en trois groupes. Les premiers vivent sédentaires dans les banlieues des villes, gâcheurs de plâtre ou ferreurs de chevaux; les seconds ont préféré la vie au grand air, à la lisière des forêts séculaires où ils travaillent à abattre ou scier du bois. Ces deux premiers groupes n'ont pas gardé leur caractère original, ils ne parlent plus guère que la langue roumaine, et la pureté du type primitif s'y est un peu perdue. Le troisième au contraire, de beaucoup le plus original, est composé des nomades qui s'arrêtent où il leur plaît, qui connaissent parfois l'Europe entière, laissant sur tous les chemins leurs morts et leurs chansons, allant avec des ours, des singes et des paquets, en un mot avec toute leur fortune, des forêts sombres des Carpathes aux plages ensoleillées de l'Océan. Ils vivent

de ce qu'ils gagnent, de ce qu'ils volent, de ce que donnent la forêt et la plaine ; ils couchent sous les étoiles dans lesquelles ils lisent, dit-on, les secrets de la médecine, les mystères de la sorcellerie et la composition des philtres amoureux. Ils sont chez eux partout, et n'ont de lois que leurs caprices. "Ce sont les fils de l'Amour et de la Liberté," me disait un jour un Serbe de mes amis . . . Voilà certes de la très vieille noblesse et qui explique bien leur grand air.'

Page 76.—'Je suis réveillé le lendemain au son d'une musique assez étrange dont le refrain monotone n'est pas sans charme. Ce sont des soldats roumains qui passent sur la route ; cet air original repose des orchestres tsiganes que l'on rencontre partout en Roumanie et qui sont devenus, hélas ! trop à la mode dans tous les pays. Les tsiganes ont leurs qualités, ils jouent remarquablement leurs airs nationaux, les valse viennoises qu'ils interprètent avec un laisser aller lascif et les czardas de Hongrie au rythme singulier ; ils sont les hommes de ces musiques spéciales. Leurs chefs d'orchestre semblent vivre les morceaux qu'ils dirigent : ils roulent les yeux, secouent leurs épaisses crinières et se pâment devant les femmes enthousiasmées. Là s'arrête leur talent et rien n'est plus singulier qu'un air français ou allemand conduit par eux ; l'orchestre prend des temps, ralentit ou presse ses effets, prête aux compositeurs des intentions qu'ils n'ont jamais eues, ajoutant çà et là des points d'orgue du plus mauvais goût. Interprétée par des tsiganes, la musique savante n'est plus que de la musique de sauvages ; ils n'ont ni naturel ni simplicité.'

Opposite page 184 is a fine illustration entitled *Femmes Tsiganes Dansant*.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

28th Oct. 1916.

15.—BULGARIAN GYPSIES

From his point of view Gypsies were doubtless of little interest to Captain Léon Lamouche of the French artillery, and, with the exception of the statistics which he quotes, the references made to them in his book, *La Bulgarie dans le passé et le présent : étude historique, ethnographique, statistique et militaire* (Paris, Librairie militaire de L. Baudoin, 1892), are of small importance. His general account of the race appears on pages 150-1 :—

'Les **Tsiganes** sont les frères de race de ces vagabonds, connus en France sous le nom inexact de *Bohémiens*. Comme eux, ils sont en majorité nomades et exercent les professions de rétameurs, maréchaux ferrants, saltimbanques. On en trouve cependant, en Bulgarie, de sédentaires ; certains villages en comptent jusqu'à 70 familles. Ces derniers sont fréquemment maquignons, métier pour lequel ils ont une aptitude toute spéciale, ou bien forgerons, quelquefois même cultivateurs.

'Les Tsiganes sédentaires ont adopté l'islamisme, mais le pratiquent avec très-peu de ferveur et d'exactitude ; ils ont presque oublié leur langue maternelle et se servent à la fois du turc et du bulgare.' [!]

He states on page 204 that 'Les Tsiganes sont à peu près également répartis sur tout le territoire,' 'ne formant d'ailleurs pas,' as he had already explained on page 145, 'd'agglomérations spéciales, mais se trouvant répandus sur tout le pays.' On page 500 he says that the Gypsies of Macedonia 's'y trouvent dans les mêmes conditions que dans le reste de l'empire ottoman.' The religious profession of the Gypsies is again mentioned on pages 200-1 : 'la plus grande partie des Tsiganes et quelques Bulgares (*Pomaks*) professent l'islamisme.'

The following table is compiled from those which appear on pages 195, 200 and 202-3, omitting the columns which enumerate Greeks and Jews or give religious statistics.

Department.	Popula- tion 1888	Bulgars.	Turks.	Gypsies.	Per cent.
Sofia	182,247	166,000	590	2,400	1.3
Trn	76,051	75,000	—	460	0.6
Kustendil	162,939	162,000	1,700	96	0.1
Vidin	115,699	77,000	4,200	1,500	1.3
Lom-Palanka	114,223	104,000	3,200	3,500	3.1
Rahovo	86,781	70,000	2,900	3,300	3.8
Vratsa	87,462	84,000	900	1,600	1.8
Lovetch	119,010	113,000	3,000	710	0.6
Plevna	92,040	84,000	5,400	1,500	1.6
Svichtov	90,876	66,000	13,900	930	1.0
Sevliévo	93,948	84,000	8,800	420	0.4
Tirnovó	205,344	181,800	20,900	1,900	0.9
Roustchouk	154,454	76,800	68,000	1,600	1.0
Silistrie	107,637	29,800	61,000	1,800	1.7
Razgrad	122,370	52,000	67,000	1,900	1.6
Choumla	175,709	55,000	113,000	2,800	1.6
Varna	206,664	89,900	92,000	4,300	2.1
Tatar-Bazardjik	136,698	121,000	8,500	3,700	2.7
Stara-Zagora	203,396	175,000	22,000	3,100	1.5
Sliven	161,303	124,000	13,000	4,000	2.5
Philippopoli	226,013	182,000	23,000	3,200	1.4
Bourgas	110,363	57,000	30,000	2,200	2.0
Haskovo	123,168	94,000	26,000	2,000	1.6
Total	3,154,375	2,323,300	588,990	48,916	—
Difference	—	2,950	18,341	1,375	—
Census 1888	3,154,375	2,326,250	607,331	50,291	1.5

It is evident that the racial statistics are only approximate, and in some cases obviously false. The number of Gypsies shown by the census which was taken in Northern Bulgaria in 1881, combined with that taken in Eastern Rumelia in 1885, is 64,790 or 2.1 per cent. of the population. The diminution observed in 1888, in the Turkish, Greek, and Gypsy elements, is attributed on page 201 to the emigration which, here as elsewhere, has followed release from the Ottoman Government.

The book contains no folk-lore, so that there is little in it that throws light on Gypsy customs. The following passage, however, might almost, *mutatis mutandis*, be read as a description of a Gypsy band: 'Dans les campagnes de Bulgarie, la famille, comme chez tous les Slaves du Sud, a conservé une organisation patriarcale. Le mariage des fils ne les éloigne pas de la maison paternelle. Dans la ferme bulgare, autour de la maison du chef de la famille, s'élèvent celles des fils et quelquefois des gendres' (p. 138). It may also be worth while to quote what Captain Lamouche says about the absence of the infinitive in Bulgarian, since the same peculiarity is found in Romani: '. . . une singularité que le bulgare partage seulement parmi les langues indo-européennes avec le grec moderne et l'albanais est l'absence complète de l'infinitif. Dans toutes les phrases où une autre langue emploierait ce mode, il est remplacé par une proposition incidente précédée d'une conjonction. La même tournure est, du reste, presque constamment prise en serbe et en roumain, langues qui possèdent un infinitif. C'est une des particularités que l'on attribue à l'influence de la race indigène primitive' (pp. 154-5).

As bearing on the interpretation of the Greek place-name *Γυφρόκαστρο* the following sentence from page 24 may be worth quoting:—‘Au sud-est de Bourgas, dans une échancrure du rivage large de 3 kilomètres et longue de 5, se trouve l'excellent mouillage de *Tchenguén-Kaléci* [Gypsy fort], le seul point de ce littoral où les navires puissent trouver un abri sûr.’

R. A. SCOTT MACFIE.

10th Jan. 1914.

16.—CARONS

Vidocq's dealings with a party of Gypsies calling themselves Caron have been mentioned in this *Journal*, N.S., vi. 253 : and as they claimed to come from Hungary and the Carpathians and resembled in their dress the recent bands of coppersmiths, it was suggested that they were of the same tribe and that the name was probably identical with Tšoron. But whatever its origin may have been, it would seem that this family, or some branch of it, settled in France ; and fifty years later they were reckoned by the police as French Gypsies, and spoke a dialect in which argot played a large part. They are mentioned by F. Michel in his *Études de philologie comparée sur l'argot* (Paris, 1856, p. lii.) in the following note :—‘Si cette assertion de Borrow [that Gypsies do not speak thieves' slang nor thieves' Romani] est vraie en ce qui concerne les Bohémiens anglais, espagnols, russes, hongrois et turcs, qu'il a plus particulièrement étudiés, elle ne saurait l'être pour les *Romamitchels* du centre et du nord de la France, dont les résidences fixes, il y a quelques années, étaient notamment à Bonny, près de Gien (tribu Caron), à Saint-Florentin (département de l'Yonne, tribu Charpentier), et près d'Auxerre (tribu Foin). Il est bien exact que ces maraudeurs parlent entre eux une langue particulière dont eux seuls ont la clef, et qu'ils emploient même en présence des autres voleurs ; mais comme ils fréquentent ces derniers, au moins passagèrement, surtout les voleurs de nuit dans les départements, dits *sorgueurs*, dont la bande Thibert était en partie composée, il est impossible qu'ils ne comprennent pas l'argot. Il y a plus, si l'on peut se fier à une note de police, le *rommany*, dans leur bouche, porte de nombreuses traces de l'invasion du jargon : c'est ainsi que pour *coucher* ils disent *poultré*, *guernaf* pour *ferme*, *ferte* ou *fertille* pour *paille*, *barbot* pour *canard*, *conque* pour *tabatière*, *apôtres* pour *doigts*, *battants* pour *bras*, *fouillouse* pour *poche*, *calandre* pour *panier*, *tourniole* pour *clef*, *matrone* pour *église* ; qu'ils appellent un homme *gatgi*, le vol *tchoure* ou *tchouribeun*, le vol à la care *caribeun*, un chien *tchoukeil*, du pain *marro*, et qu'ils rendent *tu me fais mal* par *me chipeinn*, et arrêtez, cessez, dissimulez, par *pintchi* ; poules par *clochequi*, et dindes par *chibeli*. Or, si ces six derniers mots sont bohémiens, le reste ne peut être revendiqué que par l'argot, et il demeure établi que nos *Romamitchels* le comprennent.’

If this vocabulary is a fair specimen of the speech of the Carons of 1850, that branch of the family preserved little or no trace of a dialect such as the coppersmiths spoke, and must have been fairly closely identified with the native argot-speaking classes. That does not, however, entirely discredit the statements of Vidocq's informant as to his origin, as he and his band seem to have lived chiefly in France and Belgium and to have spent a considerable portion of their time in prisons, where they would meet argot-speakers. Such meetings might lead to intermarriage and the corruption of the language and habits of the band. Besides, one cannot tell whether this vocabulary was collected from Carons or others, and the police are not likely to have known much about their language.

17.—A GYPSY-LIKE TRIBE IN TURKESTAN

So little is known about Gypsies in Central Asia that the following letter, sent some years ago by Mr. Arthur Thesleff for translation from the original Swedish, cannot fail to excite interest among the members of the Gypsy Lore Society. It is accompanied by a covering note from the Baroness Louise Aminoff, to whom her husband, Baron J. F. G. Aminoff, dictated it on his deathbed in 1899. The Baron was a general in the Russian army, the conqueror of Turkestan, and, some twenty years later, successively chief of the Finnish guards and governor of Finland.

Translation of covering note, dated Helsingfors, 19th January 1899, from the Baroness Louise Aminoff to Mr. Arthur Thesleff.

'One day when I was sitting at my husband's bedside, very shortly before his death, he asked me to write the enclosed lines at his dictation. It was his intention to have had them sent to you at once, but not knowing your address with certainty the matter was postponed.

'I esteem it my duty now to fulfil the wish of my departed husband, hoping that you, Mr. Thesleff, will find the information useful.'

Translation of a statement dictated to his wife, shortly before his death in 1899, by General the Baron J. F. G. Aminoff.

'Having noticed, Mr. Thesleff, that you are engaged in serious study of the Gypsy race, not only within your own country, but also outside its borders, and as I am at present very ill and may never recover, I feel impelled to make you the following communication :—

'The river Zarafshan, which has its origin in the glaciers of the Altai mountains and flows, as is well known, westward, through Panjikent, Samarkand, etc., to the neighbourhood of Bokhara, reaches that place and Lake Kara-Kul only in the form of a dry bed, having been diverted into irrigation conduits at the point where it leaves the mountains or even at a higher point. In earlier times this river must have been one of the principal tributaries of the Amu Daria (Oxus), but nowadays, owing to the cause I have mentioned, it never reaches the great river. At about the middle of its course in the mountains the Zarafshan receives from the south a tributary named the Fan Daria, which is formed of two branches joining at the fortress of Sardabar. One of these branches, called the Iskander Daria, comes from the south-west and has its origin in the lake Iskander-Kul. The other, which is named the Yagnob or Yaghaub Daria, flows parallel to the Zarafshan all the way from its source to the village of Hshartab. From Hshartab it makes a bend southwards to the village (if my memory is correct) of Ansob, and from thence westwards again to the fortress of Sardabar.

'The great and almost inaccessible valley through which the Yaghaub Daria flows above Hshartab is inhabited by a numerous but very poor population, totally unlike the other tribes that live in the mountainous part of Kohistan which is watered by the Zarafshan and its tributaries.

'Amongst other peculiarities which distinguish this tribe is the fact that it speaks a language which is quite different from the tongues, composed of Persian dialects, spoken by the other mountain-tribes. When I visited the Yaghaub valley in June 1870, I was occupied principally with topographical and geodetic inquiries, and, moreover, I unfortunately came into contact with only a small number of the inhabitants of the district, for when I approached with about ten Cossacks they all fled to the mountains. Besides this, my visit lasted only a few hours because General Abramoff was waiting for me with his force at the mouth of the river. The place was, however, visited at the same time by Herr Kuhn, an Oriental scholar and afterwards head of the schools at Vilna; and at about the

same time two gentlemen, Colonels Haroshkin and Grebyukin, made investigations and researches, and collected notes about the Yaghaub language. My own memoranda, as well as those of the gentlemen I have named, were printed in some number of the *Turkestan'skii Ezhegodnik*, a journal which was published for a short time. Perhaps notes on the Yaghaub language might also be found in the publications of the Imperial Geographical Society. My thoughts have not been directed towards these matters for many years, and here, laid up by illness in the Deaconesses' Institution, I have not the materials at my disposition. But I remember that, at the time when we were making our investigations in the district of the upper Zarafshan, on the very spot, it was common talk that the language we had found in the Yaghaub valley was either the original Sanskrit or else the original Gypsy tongue, and that the other inhabitants of Kohistan asserted that it was the latter. What is the real truth of the case I cannot say—as is but natural after the lapse of nearly thirty years—but later investigations may have been made in that direction.

‘However that may be, Russian Central Asia offers a rich field for the study of the Gypsy race. Everywhere there they are found as true nomads under the name of Luli, and retain all the original evil habits of Gypsies, kidnapping children and stealing horses, which are nowadays almost unknown in Europe. Moreover, their type is the same as that of our Gypsies, they dress themselves in red and gaudily, quite unlike other inhabitants of the country, and are never to be found camping near wells in the steppes, mountains, or deserts, but always in open fields near inhabited places. Their tents are not made of *voilok* as are the *yurtas* of the Kirghiz, nor are they square green silk tents, lined with calico, such as are used by the Bucharas and other settled inhabitants: the tents of the Gypsies are always made of white material, half round, oblong, and open at one end, somewhat thus:—



As a rule they lead a life which is completely different from that of all other tribes in Central Asia.

‘As regards the inhabitants of the Yaghaub valley, whom I have mentioned, they have, in their outward appearance, nothing in common with the Gypsies (Luli) who frequent Central Asia.

‘I take the liberty to communicate these notes to you hoping that they may perhaps be useful or at least suggestive.

HARALD EHRENBORG.’

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